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ART. I. *A History of the early Part of the Reign of James the Second; with an Introductory Chapter.* By the Right Honourable Charles James Fox. To which is added an Appendix. 4to. pp. 340. Miller, London, 1808.

IF it be true that high expectation is almost always followed by disappointment, it is scarcely possible that the readers of MR FOX's history should not be disappointed. So great a statesman certainly has not appeared as an author since the time of Lord Clarendon; and, independent of the great space which he fills in the recent history of this country, and the admitted splendour of his general talents,—his known zeal for liberty, the fame of his eloquence, and his habitual study of every thing relating to the constitution, concurred to direct an extraordinary degree of attention to the work upon which he was known to be engaged, and to fix a standard of unattainable excellence for the trial of his first acknowledged production. The very circumstance of his not having published any considerable work during his life, and of his having died before bringing this to a conclusion, served to increase the general curiosity, and to accumulate upon this single fragment the interest of his whole literary existence.

No human production, we suppose, could bear to be tried by such a test; and those who sit down to the perusal of the work before us, under the influence of such impressions, are very likely to rise disappointed. With those, however, who are at all on their guard against the delusive effect of these natural emotions, the result, we venture to predict, will be different; and for ourselves, we are happy to say, that we have not been disappointed at all; but, on the contrary, very greatly moved and delighted with the greater part of this singular volume.

We do not think it has any great value as a history; nor is it very admirable as a piece of composition. It comprehends too short a period, and includes too few events to add much to our knowledge of facts; and abounds too little with splendid passages to lay much hold on the imagination. The reflections which it contains, too, are generally more remarkable for their truth and simplicity, than for any great fineness or profundity of thinking; and many opportunities are neglected, or rather purposely declined, of entering into large and general speculations. Notwithstanding all this, the work, we think, is invaluable, not only as a memorial of the high principles and gentle dispositions of its illustrious author, but as a record of those sentiments of true English constitutional independence, which seem to have been nearly forgotten in the bitterness and hazards of our more recent contentions. It is delightful as the picture of a character; and most instructive and opportune as a remembrancer of public duties. We must be permitted to say a word or two more upon each of these subjects.

To those who know Mr Fox only by the great outlines of his public history,—who know merely that he passed from the dissipations of too gay a youth into the tumults and cabals of a political life; and that his days were spent in contending about public measures, and in guiding or averting the tempests of faction,—the spirit of indulgent and tender feeling which pervades all this book must appear very unaccountable. Those who live much in the world, even in a private station, commonly have their hearts a little hardened, and their moral sensibility a little impaired. But statesmen and practical politicians, are, with justice, suspected of a still greater forgetfulness of mild impressions and honourable scruples. Coming necessarily into contact with great vices and great sufferings, they must gradually lose some of their horror for the first, and much of their compassion for the last. Constantly engaged in contention, they cease pretty generally to regard any human beings as objects of sympathy or disinterested attachment; and mixing much with the most corrupt part of mankind, naturally come to regard the species itself with indifference, if not with contempt. All the softer feelings are apt to be worn off in the rough conflicts of factious hostility, and all the finer moralities to be effaced, by the constant contemplation of expediency, and the necessities of occasional compliance.

Such is the common conception which we form of men who have lived the life of Mr Fox; and such, in spite of the testimony of partial friends, is the impression which most private persons would have retained of him, if this volume had not come to convey a truer and a more engaging picture to the world at large, and to posterity.

By

By far the moſt remarkable thing in this book, is the tone of indulgence and unfeigned philanthropy which prevails in every part of it;—a moſt amiable ſenſibility to all the kind and domeſtic affections, and a ſort of ſoftheartedneſs towards the ſufferings of individuals, which ſeems hitherto to have been thought incompatible with the ſtern dignity of hiſtory. It cannot but ſtrike us with ſomething ſtill more pleaſing than ſurpriſe, to meet with traits of almoſt feminine tenderneſs in the ſentiments of this veteran ſtateſman, and a general character of charity towards all men, not only remote from the rancour of vulgar hoſtility, but purified in a great degree from the aſperities of party contention. He expreſſes indeed, throughout, a high-minded contempt for what is baſe, and a deteſtation for what is cruel; but yet is conſtantly led, by a ſort of generous prejudice in favour of human nature, to admit all poſſible palliations for the conduct of the individual delinquent, and never attempts to ſhut him out from the benefit of thoſe natural ſympathies of which the bad as well as the good are occaſionally the objects, from their fortune or ſituation. He has given a new character, we think, to hiſtory, by this ſoft and condeſcending concern for the feelings of individuals; and not only left a ſplendid record of the gentleneſs and affectionate ſimplicity of his own diſpoſitions, but ſet an example by which we hope that men of genius may be taught hereafter to render their inſtructions more engaging and impreſſive. Nothing, we are perſuaded, can be more gratifying to his friends, than the impreſſion of his character which this work will carry down to poſterity; nor is it a matter of indifference to the country, that its moſt illuſtrious ſtateſman ſhould be yet more diſtinguiſhed for the amiableneſs of his private affections.

This ſoftneſs of feeling is the firſt remarkable thing in the work before us. The ſecond is perhaps of more general importance. It is, that it contains the only appeal to the old principles of Engliſh conſtitutional freedom, and the only expreſſion of thoſe firm and temperate ſentiments of independence, which are the peculiar produce, and natural protection of our mixed government, which we recollect to have met with for very many years. The tone of the work, in this reſpect, recals us to feelings which ſeem of late to have ſlumbered in the country which they uſed to inſpire. In our indolent reliance upon the imperiſhable virtue of our conſtitution, and in our buſy purſuit of wealth, we appear to have forgotten our higher vocation of free citizens; and, in our dread of revolution or foreign invaſion, to have loſt ſight of thoſe inteſtine dangers to which our liberties are always more immediately obnoxious. The hiſtory of the Revolution 1688, and of the times immediately preceding, was eminently calculated to re-

vive those feelings, and restore those impressions, which so many causes have in our days conspired to obliterate; and, in the hands of Mr Fox, could scarcely have failed to produce a very powerful effect. On this account, it must be matter of the deepest regret that he was not permitted to finish, or indeed to do more than begin, that inspiring narrative. Even in the little which he has done, however, we discover the spirit of the master. Even in this broken prelude which he has sounded, the true notes are struck with such force and distinctness, and are in themselves so much in unison with the natural chords of every British heart, that we think no slight vibration will be excited throughout the country; and would willingly lend our assistance to propagate it into every part of the empire. In order to explain more fully the reasons for which we set so high a value upon the work before us on this particular account, we must be allowed to enlarge a little upon the evil which we think it calculated to correct.

We do not think the present generation of our countrymen substantially degenerated from their ancestors in the days of the Revolution. In the same circumstances, we are persuaded, they would have acted with the same spirit;—nay, in consequence of the more general diffusion of education and intelligence, we believe they would have been still more zealous and more unanimous in the cause of liberty. But we have of late been exposed to the operation of various causes, which have tended to lull our vigilance, and corrupt our enthusiasm; and which threaten, unless powerfully counteracted, to bring on, gradually, such a general indifference and forgetfulness of the interests of freedom, as to prepare the people for any tolerably mild form of servitude which their future rulers may be tempted to impose upon them.

The first, and the principal of these causes, however paradoxical it may seem, is the actual excellence of our laws, and the supposed inviolability of the constitution. The second is, the great increase of luxury, and the tremendous patronage of the government. The last is, the impression made and maintained by the events of the French Revolution. We shall say but a word upon each of these prolific themes of speculation.

Because our ancestors stipulated wisely for the public at the Revolution, it seems to have become a common opinion, that nothing is left to their posterity but to pursue their private interest. The machine of Government was then completed and set agoing—and it will go on without their interference. Nobody talks now of the divine right, or the dispensing power of kings, or ventures to propose to govern without Parliaments, or to levy taxes without their authority;—therefore, our liberties are secure;—and it is only factions or ambitious people that affect any jealousy of the executive.

cutive. Things go on very ſmoothly as they are; and it can never be the intereſt of any party in power, to attempt any thing very oppreſſive or injurious to the public. By ſuch reaſonings, men excuſe their abandonment of all concern for the community, and find, in the very excellence of the conſtitution, an apology for expoſing it to corruption. It is obvious, however, that liberty, like love, is as hard to keep as to win; and that the exertions by which it was originally gained will be worſe than fruitleſs, if they be not followed up by the aſſiduities by which alone it can be preſerved. Wherever there is power, there is a diſpoſition to increaſe it; and if there be not a conſtant ſpirit of jealouſy and of reſiſtance on the part of the people, every monarchy will gradually harden into a despotiſm. It will not, indeed, wantonly provoke or alarm, by ſeeking again to occupy thoſe very poſitions from which it had once been degraded; but it will extend itſelf in other quarters, and march on ſilently under the colours of a venal popularity.

This indolent reliance on the ſufficiency of the conſtitution for its own preſervation, affords great facilities, no doubt, to thoſe who may be tempted to project its deſtruction; but the efficient *means* are to be found chiefly in the prevailing manners of the people, and the monſtrous patronage of the government. It can admit of no doubt, we ſuppoſe, that trade, which has made us rich, has made us ſtill more luxurious; and that the increaſed neceſſity of expenſe, has in general outgone the means of ſupplying it. Almoſt every individual now finds it more difficult to live on a level with his equals, than he did when all were poorer; almoſt every man, therefore, is needy; and he who is both needy and luxurious, holds his independence on a very precarious tenure. Government, on the other hand, has the diſpoſal of nearly fifteen millions *per annum*, and the power of nominating to two or three hundred thouſand poſts or places of emolument;—the whole population of the country amounting to leſs than five millions of grown men. The conſequence is, that, beyond the rank of mere labourers, there is ſcarcely one man out of three who does not hold or hope for ſome appointment or promotion from Government, and is not conſequently diſpoſed to go all *honeſt* lengths in recommending himſelf to its favour. This, it muſt be admitted, is a ſituation which juſtifies ſome alarm for the liberties of the people; and when taken together with that general indifference to the public which has been already noticed, accounts ſufficiently for that habit of preſuming in favour of all exertions of authority, and againſt all popular diſcontent or commotion which is ſo remarkably the characteriſtic of the preſent generation. From this paſſive deſertion of the people, it is but one ſtep to abet and de-

fend the actual oppreſſions of their rulers; and men, otherwiſe conſcientious, we are afraid, too often impoſe upon themſelves by no better reaſonings than the following—'This meaſure, to be ſure, is bad and tyrannical;—but men are not angels;—all human government is imperfect; and on the whole, ours is ſtill too good to be quarrelled with. Beſides, what good purpoſe could be anſwered by my individual oppoſition? I might ruin my own fortune, indeed, and blaſt the proſpects of my children; but it would be too romantic to imagine, that the fear of my diſpleaſure would produce an immaculate adminiſtration—ſo I will hold my tongue, and ſhift for myſelf as well as poſſible.' When the majority of thoſe who have any influence in the country reaſon in this manner, it ſurely cannot be unneceſſary to remind us, now and then, of the great things that were done when the people rouſed themſelves againſt their oppreſſors.

In aid of these actual temptations of interest and indolence, come certain speculative doctrines, as to the real value of liberty, and the illusions by which men are carried away who fancy themselves acting on the principle of patriotism. Private happiness, it is discovered, has but little dependence on the nature of the government. The oppressions of monarchs and demagogues are nearly equal in degree, though a little different in form; and the only thing certain is, that in flying from the one, we shall fall into the other, and suffer tremendously in the transition. If ambition and great activity therefore be not necessary to our happiness, we shall do wisely to occupy ourselves with the many innocent and pleasing pursuits that are allowed under all governments, instead of spreading tumult and discontent, by endeavouring to realize some political conceit of our own imagination. Mr Hume, we are afraid, is chiefly responsible for the prevalence of this Epicurean and ignoble strain of sentiment in this country,—an author from whose dispositions and understanding, a very different doctrine might have been anticipated. * But, under whatever authority

* Few things seem more unaccountable and indeed absurd, than that Hume should have taken part with high church and high monarchy men. The persecutions which he suffered in his youth from the Presbyterians, may perhaps have influenced his ecclesiastical partialities. But that he should have sided with the Tudors and the Steuarts against the people, seems quite inconsistent with all the great traits of his character. His unrivalled sagacity must have looked with contempt on the preposterous arguments by which the *jus divinum* was maintained. His natural benevolence must have suggested the cruelty of subjecting the enjoyments of thousands to the caprice of one unfeeling individual; and his own practical independence

authority it is maintained, we have no scruple in saying, that it seems to us as obviously false as it is pernicious. We need not appeal to Turkey or to Russia to prove, that neither liberal nor even gainful pursuits can be carried on with advantage, where there is no political freedom; for, even laying out of view the utter *impossibility* of securing the persons and properties of individuals in any other way, it is certain that the consciousness of independence is a *great enjoyment in itself*, and that without it, all the powers of the mind, and all the capacities of happiness, are gradually blunted and destroyed. It is like the privation of air and exercise, or the emasculation of the body;—which, though they may appear at first to conduce to tranquillity and indolent enjoyment, never fail to enfeeble the whole frame, and to produce a state of oppressive languor and debility, in comparison with which, even wounds and fatigue would be delicious.

To counteract all these enervating and depressing causes, we have the increasing opulence of the lower and middling orders of the people, naturally leading them to aspire to greater independence, and improving their education and general intelligence. Thus, public opinion, which is in all countries the great operating check upon authority, has become more extensive and more enlightened; and might perhaps have been found a sufficient corrective of all our other corruptions, had things gone on around us in their usual and accustomed channels. Unfortunately, however, the French revolution came to astonish and appal the world; and, originating with the people, not only subverted thrones and establishments, but made such havock on the lives and properties and principles of individuals, as very naturally to excite the horror and alarm of all whose condition was not already intolerable. This alarm, so far as it related to this country, was always excessive, and in a great degree unreasonable; but it was impossible perhaps altogether to escape it; and the consequences have been incalculably injurious to the interests of practical liberty. During the raging of that war which Jacobinism in its most disgusting form carried on against rank and royalty, it was natural for those who apprehended the possibility of a similar conflict at

pendence in private life, might have taught him the value of those feelings which he has so mischievously derided. Mr Fox seems to have been struck with the same surprise at this strange trait in the character of our philosopher. In a letter to Mr Laing, he says, 'He was an excellent man, and of great powers of mind; but his 'partiality to kings and princes is intolerable. Nay, it is, in my 'opinion, quite ridiculous; and is more like the foolish admiration 'which women and children sometimes have for kings, than the 'opinion, right or wrong, of a philosopher.'

home, to fortify those orders with all that reason and even prejudice could supply for their security, and to lay aside, for the time, those jealouses and hereditary grudges, upon which, in better days, it was their duty to engage in contention. While a raging fever of liberty was epidemic in the neighbourhood, the ordinary diet of the people appeared too inflammatory for their constitution; and it was thought adviseable to abstain from articles, which, at all other times, were allowed to be necessary for their health and vigour. Thus, a sort of tacit convention was entered into,—to say nothing, for a while, of the follies and vices of princes, the tyranny of courts, or the rights of the people. The revolution of 1688, it was agreed, could not be mentioned with praise, without giving some indirect encouragement to the revolution of 1789; and it was thought as well to say nothing in favour of Hampden, or Russel, or Sydney, for fear it might give spirits to Robespierre, Danton or Marat. To this strict regimen the greater part of the nation submitted of their own accord; and it was forced upon the remainder by a pretty vigorous system of proceeding. Now, we do not greatly blame either the alarm, or the precautions which it dictated; but we do very seriously lament, that the use of those precautions should have degenerated into a sort of national habit, and should be continued and approved of so very long after the danger which occasioned them has ceased.

It is now at least ten years since Jacobinism was prostrated at Paris; and it is still longer since it ceased to be regarded with any thing but horror in this country. Yet the favourers of power would still take advantage of its name to shield authority from question, and to throw obloquy on the rights and services of the people. The power of habit has come unfortunately to their aid; and it is still unfashionable, and, we are afraid, not very popular, to talk of the tyranny of the Stuarts, and the triumph of the Revolution, in the tone that was universal and established within these last twenty years. For our parts, however, we see no sort of reason for this change; and we hail, with pleasure, this work of Mr Fox's, as likely to put an end to a system of timidity so apt to graduate into servility, and to familiarize his countrymen once more to speak and to think of Charles, of James, and of Strafford;—and of William, and Russell, and Sydney, as it becomes Englishmen to speak and to think of such characters. To talk with affected tenderness of oppressors, may suit the policy of those who wish to bespeak the clemency of an imperial conqueror; but must appear peculiarly base and inconsistent in all who profess an anxiety to rouse the people to great exertions in the cause of their independence.

The volume itself, which has given occasion to these reflections,

tions, and from which we have withheld our readers too long, consists of a preface or general introducion from the pen of Lord Holland; an introductory chapter, comprising a review of the leading events, from the year 1640 to the death of Charles II.; two chapters of the history of the reign of James, which include no more than seven months of the year 1685, and narrate very little but the unfortunate expeditions of Argyle and of Monmouth; and a pretty long appendix, consisting chiefly of the correspondence between Barillon, the French confidential minister at the court of England, and his master Louis XIV.

Lord Holland's part of the volume is written with great judgement, perspicuity, and propriety; and though it contains less anecdote and minute information with regard to his illustrious kinsman than every reader must wish to possess, it not only gives a very satisfactory account of the progress of the work to which it is prefixed, but affords us some glimpses of the character and opinions of its author, which are peculiarly interesting, both from the authenticity of the source from which they are derived, and from the unostentatious simplicity with which they are communicated. Lord Holland has not been able to ascertain at what period Mr Fox first formed the design of writing a history; but, from the year 1797, when he ceased to give a regular attendance in Parliament, he was almost entirely occupied with literary schemes and avocations. The following little sketch of the temper and employments of him who was pitied by many as a disappointed politician, is extremely amiable; and, we are now convinced by the fragment before us, correctly true.

'During his retirement, that love of literature, and fondness for poetry, which neither pleasure nor business had ever extinguished, revived with an ardour, such as few in the eagerness of youth, or in pursuit of fame or advantage, are capable of feeling. For some time, however, his studies were not directed to any particular object. Such was the happy disposition of his mind, that his own reflections, whether supplied by conversation, desultory reading, or the common occurrences of a life in the country, were always sufficient to call forth the vigour and exertion of his faculties. Intercourse with the world had so little deadened in him the sense of the simplest enjoyments, that even in the hours of apparent leisure and inactivity, he retained that keen relish of existence, which, after the first impressions of life, is so rarely excited but by great interests and strong passions. Hence it was, that in the interval between his active attendance in Parliament, and the undertaking of his History, he never felt the tedium of a vacant day. A verse in Cowper, which he frequently repeated,

'How various his employments whom the world
Calls idle!'

was an accurate description of the life he was then leading; and I am persuaded

persuaded, that if he had consulted his own gratifications only, it would have continued to be so. The circumstances which led him once more to take an active part in public discussions, are foreign to the purposes of this preface. It is sufficient to remark, that they could not be foreseen, and that his notion of engaging in some literary undertaking was adopted during his retirement, and with the prospect of long and uninterrupted leisure before him.' p. iii. iv.

He seems to have fixed finally on the history of the Revolution, about the year 1799; but even after the work was begun, he not only dedicated large portions of his time to the study of Greek literature and poetry in general, but meditated and announced to his correspondents a great variety of publications, upon a very wide range of subjects. Among these were, an edition of Dryden—a Defence of Racine and of the French stage—an Essay on the Beauties of Euripides—a Disquisition upon Hume's history—and an Essay or Dialogue, on Poetry, History, and Oratory. In 1802, the greater part of the work, as it now stands, was finished; but the author wished to consult the papers in the Scotch College, and the *Depôt des Affaires etrangeres* at Paris, and took the opportunity of the peace to pay a visit to that capital accordingly. After his return, he made some additions to his chapters; but being soon after recalled to the duties of public life, he never afterwards found leisure to go on with the work to which he had dedicated himself with so much zeal and assiduity. What he did write, was finished, however, for the most part, with very great care. He wrote very slow; and was extremely fastidious in the choice of his expressions; holding pedantry and affectation, however, in far greater horror than carelessness or roughness. He commonly wrote detached sentences on slips of paper, and afterwards dictated them off to Mrs Fox, who copied them into the book, from which the present volume has been printed without the alteration of a single syllable.

There are some pleasing letters of Mr Fox interspersed with this narrative. The most important is that in which he gives Mr Laing an account of the result of his inquiries after the Scotch College manuscripts.

"*I have now ascertained beyond all doubt*, that there were in the Scotch College *two distinct* manuscripts, one in James's own hand, consisting of papers of different sizes bound up together, and the other a sort of historical narrative, compiled from the former. The narrative was *said* to have been revised and corrected, as to style, by Dryden * the poet, (meaning probably Charles Dryden, the great poet's

* 'It is the opinion of the present possessor of the narrative, that it was compiled from the original documents by Thomas Innes, one of the Superiors of the College, and author of a work, entitled, *A Critical Essay on the ancient Inhabitants of Scotland.*'

poet's son); and it was not known in the College whether it was drawn up in James's life, or by the direction of his son, the Pretender. I doubt whether Carte ever saw the original journal; *but I learn, from undoubted authority, that Macpherson never did;* and yet to read his preface, pages 6 and 7, (which pray advert to), one would have supposed, not only that he had inspected it accurately, but that all *his* extracts at least, if not Carte's also, were taken from it. Macpherson's impudence in attempting such an imposition, at a time when almost any man could have detected him, would have been, in another man, incredible, if the internal evidence of the extracts themselves against him were not corroborated by the testimony of the principal persons of the College. And this leads me to a point of more importance to me. Principal Gordon thought, when I saw him at Paris in October 1802, that all the papers were lost. I now hear, from a well-informed person, that the most material, viz. those written in James's own handwriting, were indeed lost, and in the way mentioned by Gordon; but that the Narrative, from which only Macpherson made his extracts, is still existing; and that Mr Alexander Cameron, Blackfriars Wynd, Edinburgh, either has it himself, or knows where it is to be found." p. xxxvi. xxxvii.

Upon inquiry, Lord Holland found, that this narrative was in the hands of Dr Cameron, Roman Catholic Bishop in this city; and obtained from that respectable person the following account of the fate of James's original manuscripts.

"Before Lord Gower, the British Embassador, left Paris, in the beginning of the French Revolution, he wrote to Principal Gordon, and offered to take charge of those valuable papers, (King James's Manuscripts, &c.), and deposit them in some place of safety in Britain. I know not what answer was returned, but nothing was done. Not long thereafter, the Principal came to England, and the care of every thing in the College devolved on Mr Alexander Innes, the only British subject who remained in it. About the same time, Mr Stapleton, then President of the English College of St Omer, afterwards Bishop in England, went to Paris, previously to his retiring from France; and Mr Innes, who had resolved not to abandon his post, consulted with him about the means of preserving the manuscripts. Mr Stapleton thought, if he had them at St Omer, he could, with small risk, convey them to England. It was therefore resolved, that they should be carefully packed up, addressed to a Frenchman, a confidential friend of Mr Stapleton, and remitted by some public carriage. Some other things were put up with the Manuscripts. The whole arrived without any accident, and was laid in a cellar. But the patriotism of the Frenchman becoming suspicious, perhaps upon account of his connexion with the English College, he was put in prison; and his wife, apprehensive of the consequences of being found to have English manuscripts, richly bound and ornamented with royal arms, in her house, cut off the boards, and destroyed them.

them. The Manuscripts, thus disfigured, and more easily huddled up in a sort of bundle, were secretly carried, with papers belonging to the Frenchman himself, to his country-house, and buried in the garden. They were not, however, permitted to remain long there; the lady's fears increased, and the Manuscripts were taken up and reduced to ashes. This is the substance of the account given to Mr Innes, and reported by him to me in June 1802, in Paris."

"I need not trouble your Lordship with my reflections upon this relation; but I ought not to omit that I was told, sometimes, that all the Manuscripts, as well as their boards, were consumed by fire in the cellar in which they had been deposited upon their arrival at St Omer." p. xxviii.—xxxi.

The only other part of Lord Holland's ſtatement to which we think it neceſſary to call the attention of the reader, is that in which he thinks it neceſſary to explain the peculiar notions which Mr Fox entertained on the ſubject of hiſtorical compoſition, and the very rigid laws to which he had ſubjected himſelf in the execution of his important taſk.

'It is, therefore, necessary to observe, that he had formed his plan so exclusively on the model of ancient writers, that he not only felt some repugnance to the modern practice of notes, but he thought that all which an historian wished to say, should be introduced as part of a continued narration, and never assume the appearance of a digression, much less of a dissertation annexed to it. From the period, therefore, that he closed his Introductory Chapter, he defined his duty as an author, to consist in recounting the facts as they arose, or in his simple and forcible language, *in telling the story of those times.* A conversation which passed on the subject of the literature of the age of James the Second, proves his rigid adherence to these ideas, and perhaps the substance of it may serve to illustrate and explain them. In speaking of the writers of that period, he lamented that he had not devised a method of interweaving any account of them or their works, much less any criticism on their style, into his History. On my suggesting the example of Hume and Voltaire, who had discussed such topics at some length, either at the end of each reign, or in a separate chapter, he observed, with much commendation of their execution of it, that such a contrivance might be a good mode of writing critical essays, but that it was, in his opinion, incompatible with the nature of his undertaking, which, if it ceased to be a narrative, ceased to be a history.' p. xxxvi. xxxvii.

Now, we muſt be permitted to ſay, that this is a view of the nature of hiſtory, which, in ſo far as it is intelligible, appears to be very narrow and erroneous; and which ſeems, like all ſuch partial views, to have been ſo little adhered to by the author himſelf, as only to exclude many excellences without attaining the praiſe even of conſiſtency in error. The object of hiſtory, we conceive,

conceive, is to give us a clear narrative of the tranſactions of paſt ages, with a view of the character and condition of thoſe who were concerned in them, and ſuch reaſonings and reflections as may be neceſſary to explain their connexion, or natural on reviewing their reſult. That ſome account of the authors of a literary age ſhould have a place in ſuch a compoſition, ſeems to follow upon two conſiderations: *firſt*, becauſe it is unqueſtionably one object of hiſtory to give us a diſtinct view of the ſtate and condition of the age and people with whoſe affairs it is occupied; and nothing can ſerve ſo well to illuſtrate their true ſtate and condition as a deſcription of the authors they produced: and, *ſecondly*, becauſe the facts that ſuch and ſuch authors did flouriſh in ſuch a period, and were ingenious and elegant, or rude and ignorant, are facts which are intereſting in themſelves, and may be made the object of narrative juſt as properly as that ſuch and ſuch princes or miniſters did flouriſh at the ſame time, and were ambitious or ſlothful, tyrannical or friends to liberty. Political events are not the only events which are recorded even in ancient hiſtory; and now, when it is generally admitted, that even political events cannot be fully underſtood or accounted for without taking into view the preceding and concomitant changes in manners, literature, commerce, &c. it cannot fail to appear ſurpriſing, that an author of ſuch a compaſs of mind as belonged to Mr Fox, ſhould have thought of confining himſelf to the mere chronicling of wars or factions, and held himſelf excluded, by the laws of hiſtorical compoſition, from touching upon topics ſo much more intereſting.

The truth is, however, that Mr Fox has by no means adhered to this plan of merely 'telling the ſtory of the times' of which he treats. On the contrary, he is more full of argument, and what is properly called reflection, than moſt modern hiſtorians with whom we are acquainted. His argument, to be ſure, is chiefly directed to aſcertain the truth of reputed facts, or the motives of ambiguous actions; and his reflections, however juſt and natural, may commonly be conſidered as redundant with a view to mere information. Of another kind of reaſoning, indeed, he is more ſparing, and of a kind far more valuable, and, in our apprehenſion, far more eſſential to the true perfection of hiſtory. We allude now to thoſe general views of the cauſes which influence the character and diſpoſition of the people at large; and which, as they vary from age to age, bring a greater or a ſmaller part of the nation into contact with its government, and ultimately produce the ſucceſs or failure of every ſcheme of tyranny or freedom. The more this ſubject is meditated, the more certain, we are perſuaded, it will appear, that all permanent and important occurrences in the internal hiſtory of a country, are the reſult of thoſe

changes

changes in the general character of its population; and that kings and ministers are necessarily guided in their projects by a feeling of the tendencies of this varying character, and fail or succeed exactly as they had judged correctly or erroneously of its condition. To trace the causes and the modes of its variation, is, therefore, to describe the true sources of events; and merely to narrate the occurrences to which it gave rise, is to recite a history of actions without intelligible motives, and of effects without assignable causes. It is true, no doubt, that political events operate in their turn on that national character by which they are previously moulded and controuled; but they are very far, indeed, from being the chief agents in its formation; and the history of those very events is necessarily imperfect, as well as uninstructive, if the consideration of those other agents is omitted. They consist of every thing which affects the character of individuals,—manners, education, prevailing occupations, religion, taste, and, above all, the distribution of wealth, and the state of prejudice and opinions.

It is the more to be regretted that such a mind as Mr Fox's should have been bound up from such a subject by the shackles of an idle theory, because the period of which he treats affords the finest of all opportunities for prosecuting such an inquiry, and does not indeed admit of an intelligible or satisfactory history upon any other conditions. There are three great events, falling within that period, of which, it appears to us, that the story has not yet been intelligibly told, for want of some such analysis of the national feelings. One is, the universal joy and sincere confidence with which Charles II. was received back, without one stipulation for the liberties of the people, or one precaution against the abuses of power. This was done by the very people who had waged war against a more amiable Sovereign, and quarrelled with the Protector for depriving them of their freedom. It is saying nothing, to say, that Monk did this by means of the army. It was not done either by Monk or the army, but by the nation; and even if it were not so, the question would still be, by what change in the dispositions of the army and the nation Monk was able to make them do it. The second event which must always appear unaccountable upon the mere narrative of the circumstances, is the base and abject submission of the people to the avowed tyranny of Charles, when he was pleased at last to give up the use of Parliaments, and to tax and govern on his own single authority. This happened when most of those must have still been alive who had seen the nation rise up in arms against his father, and within five years of the time when it rose up still more unanimously against his successor, and not only changed the succession of the crown, but very strictly defined and limited its prerogatives.

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The third, is the Revolution itself; an event which was brought about by the very individuals who had submitted so quietly to the domination of Charles, and who, when assembled in the House of Commons under James himself, had, of their own accord, sent one of their members to the Tower for having observed, upon a harsh and tyrannical expression of the King's, that 'he hoped they were all Englishmen, and not to be frighted with a few hard words.' It is not to give us the history of these events, merely to set down the time and circumstances of their occurrence. They evidently require some explanation, in order to be comprehended; and the narrative will be altogether unsatisfactory, as well as totally barren of instruction, unless it give some account of those changes in the general temper and opinion of the nation, by which such contradictory actions became possible. Mr Fox's conception of the limits of legitimate history, restrained him, we are afraid, from entering into such considerations; and they will best estimate the amount of his error, who are most aware of the importance of the information of which it has deprived us. Nothing, in our apprehension, can be beyond the province of legitimate history, which tends to give us clear conceptions of the times and characters with which that history is conversant; nor can the story of any time be complete or valuable, unless it look before and after, to the causes and consequences of the events which it details, and mark out the period with which it is occupied, as part of a greater series, as well as an object of separate consideration.

In proceeding to the consideration of Mr Fox's own part of this volume, it may be as well to complete that general estimate of its excellence and defects which we have been led incidentally to express in a good degree already. We shall then be able to pursue our analysis of the successive chapters with less distraction.

The sentiments, we think, are almost all just, and candid, and manly; but the narrative is too minute and diffusive, and does not in general flow with much spirit or facility. Inconsiderable incidents are detailed at far too great length; and an extreme and painful anxiety is shown to ascertain the exact truth of doubtful or contested passages, and the probable motives of insignificant and ambiguous actions. The labour which is thus visibly bestowed on the work, appears disproportioned to the importance of the result. The history becomes, in a certain degree, languid and heavy; and something like a feeling of disappointment and impatience is generated, from the tardiness and excessive caution with which the story is carried forward. In those constant attempts too, to verify the particulars which are narrated, a certain tone of debate is frequently assumed, which savours more of the orator than the historian; and though there is nothing florid or rhetorical in the general

general cast of the diction, yet those argumentative passages are evidently more akin to public speaking than to written composition. Frequent interrogations—short alternative propositions,—and an occasional mixture of familiar images and illustrations,—all denote a certain habit of personal altercation, and of keen and animated contention. Instead, therefore, of a work emulating the full and flowing narrative of Livy or Herodotus, we find in Mr Fox's book rather a series of critical remarks on the narratives of preceding writers, mingled up with occasional details somewhat more copious and careful than the magnitude of the subjects seemed to require. The history, in short, is planned upon too broad a scale, and the narrative too frequently interrupted by small controversies and petty indecisions. We are aware that these objections may be owing in a good degree to the smallness of the fragment upon which we are unfortunately obliged to hazard them, and that the proportions which appear gigantic in this little relic, might have been no more than majestic in the finished work; but, even after making allowance for this consideration, we cannot help thinking that the details are too minute, and the verifications too elaborate.

The introductory chapter is full of admirable reasonings and just reflections. It begins with noticing, that there are certain periods in the history of every people, which are obviously big with important consequences, and exercise a visible and decisive influence on the times that come after. The reign of Henry VII. is one of these, with relation to England;—another is that comprised between 1588 and 1640;—and the most remarkable of all, is that which extends from the last of these dates, to the death of Charles II.—the æra of constitutional principles and practical tyranny—of the best laws, and the most corrupt administration. It is to the review of this period, that the introductory chapter is dedicated.

Mr Fox approves of the first proceedings of the Commons; but censures without reserve the unjustifiable form of the proceedings against Lord Strafford, whom he qualifies with the name of a great delinquent. With regard to the causes of the civil war, the most difficult question to determine is, whether the parliament made sufficient efforts to avoid bringing affairs to such a decision. That they had justice on their side, he says, cannot be reasonably doubted,—but seems to think that something more might have been done, to bring matters to an accommodation. With regard to the execution of the King, he makes the following striking observations, in that tone of fearless integrity and natural mildness, which we have already noticed as characteristic of this performance.

'The execution of the King, though a far less violent measure than that

that of Lord Strafford, is an event of ſo ſingular a nature, that we cannot wonder that it ſhould have excited more ſenſation than any other in the annals of England. This exemplary act of ſubſtantial juſtice, as it has been called by ſome, of enormous wickedneſs by others, muſt be conſidered in two points of view. Firſt, was it not in itſelf juſt and neceſſary? Secondly, was the example of it likely to be ſalutary or pernicious? In regard to the firſt of theſe queſtions, Mr Hume, not perhaps intentionally, makes the beſt juſtification of it, by ſaying, that while Charles lived, the projected republic could never be ſecure. But to juſtify taking away the life of an individual, upon the principle of ſelf-defence, the danger muſt be not problematical and remote, but evident and immediate. The danger in this inſtance was not of ſuch a nature; and the impriſonment, or even baniſhment, of Charles, might have given to the republic ſuch a degree of ſecurity as any government ought to be content with. It muſt be confeſſed, however, on the other ſide, that if the republican government had ſuffered the King to eſcape, it would have been an act of juſtice and generoſity wholly unexampled; and to have granted him even his life, would have been one among the more rare efforts of virtue. The ſhort interval between the depoſal and death of princes is become proverbial; and though there may be ſome few examples on the other ſide, as far as life is concerned, I doubt whether a ſingle inſtance can be found, where liberty has been granted to a depoſed monarch. Among the modes of deſtroying perſons in ſuch a ſituation, there can be little doubt but that adopted by Cromwell and his adherents is the leaſt diſhonourable. Edward the Second, Richard the Second, Henry the Sixth, Edward the Fifth, had none of them long ſurvived their depoſal; but this was the firſt inſtance, in our hiſtory at leaſt, where, of ſuch an act, it could be truly ſaid, that it was not done in a corner.

'As to the ſecond queſtion, whether the advantage to be derived from the example was ſuch as to juſtify an act of ſuch violence, it appears to me to be a complete ſolution of it to obſerve, that with reſpect to England, (and I know not upon what ground we are to ſet examples for other nations, or, in other words, to take the criminal juſtice of the world into our hands), it was wholly needleſs, and therefore unjuſtifiable, to ſet one for kings, at a time when it was intended the office of King ſhould be aboliſhed, and conſequently, that no perſon ſhould be in the ſituation to make it the rule of his conduct. Beſides, the miſeries attendant upon a depoſed monarch, ſeem to be ſufficient to deter any prince, who thinks of conſequences, from running the riſk of being placed in ſuch a ſituation; or, if death be the only evil that can deter him, the fate of former tyrants depoſed by their ſubjects, would by no means encourage him to hope he could avoid even that cataſtrophe. As far as we can judge from the event, the example was certainly not very effectual, ſince both the ſons of Charles, though having their father's fate before their eyes, yet feared not to violate the liberties of the people even more than he had attempted to do.

'If we conſider this queſtion of example in a more extended view, and

look to the general effect produced upon the minds of men, it cannot be doubted but the opportunity thus given to Charles, to display his firmneſs and piety, has created more reſpect for his memory than it could otherwiſe have obtained. Reſpect and pity for the ſufferer, on one hand, and hatred to his enemies, on the other, ſoon produce favour and averſion to their reſpective cauſes; and thus, even though it ſhould be admitted, (which is doubtful), that ſome advantage may have been gained to the cauſe of liberty, by the terror of the example operating upon the minds of princes, ſuch advantage is far outweighed by the zeal which admiration for virtue, and pity for ſufferings, the beſt paſſions of the human heart, have excited in favour of the royal cauſe. It has been thought dangerous to the morals of mankind, even in fiction and romance, to make us ſympathize with characters whoſe general conduct is blameable; but how much greater muſt the effect be, when in real hiſtory our feelings are intereſted in favour of a monarch with whom, to ſay the leaſt, his ſubjects were obliged to contend in arms for their liberty? After all, however, notwithſtanding what the more reaſonable part of mankind may think upon this queſtion, it is much to be doubted whether this ſingular proceeding has not, as much as any other circumſtance, ſerved to raiſe the character of the Engliſh nation in the opinion of Europe in general. He who has read, and ſtill more he who has heard in converſation, diſcuſſions upon this ſubject, by foreigners, muſt have perceived, that, even in the minds of thoſe who condemn the act, the impreſſion made by it has been far more that of reſpect and admiration, than that of diſguſt and horror. The truth is, that the guilt of the action, that is to ſay, the taking away the life of the King, is what moſt men in the place of Cromwell and his aſſociates would have incurred; what there is of ſplendour and of magnanimity in it, I mean the publicity and ſolemnity of the act, is what few would be capable of diſplaying. It is a degrading fact to human nature, that even the ſending away of the Duke of Glouceſter was an inſtance of generoſity almoſt unexampled in the hiſtory of tranſactions of this nature.' p. 13—17.

Under the protector, of whom he ſpeaks with candour, the government was abſolute—and, on his death, fell wholly into the hands of the army. He ſpeaks with contempt and ſevere cenſure of Monk for the precipitate and unconditional ſubmiſſion into which he hurried the country at the reſtoration; and makes the following candid reflection on the ſubſequent puniſhment of the regicides.

'With reſpect to the execution of thoſe who were accuſed of having been more immediately concerned in the King's death, that of Scrope, who had come in upon the proclamation, and of the military officers who had attended the trial, was a violation of every principle of law and juſtice. But the fate of the others, though highly diſhonourable to Monk, whoſe whole power had ariſen from his zeal in their ſervice, and the favour and confidence with which they had rewarded him, and not perhaps very creditable to the nation, of which many had applauded, more had ſupported, and almoſt all had acquieſced in the act, is not certainly

certainly to be imputed as a crime to the King, or to thoſe of his adviſers who were of the Cavalier party. The paſſion of revenge, though properly condemned both by philoſophy and religion, yet when it is excited by injurious treatment of perſons juſtly dear to us, is among the moſt excuſeable of human frailties; and if Charles, in his general conduct, had ſhown ſtronger feelings of gratitude for ſervices performed to his father, his character, in the eyes of many, would be rather raiſed than lowered by this example of ſeverity againſt the regicides.' p. 22, 23.

The mean and unprincipled ſubmiſſion of Charles to Louis XIV; and the profligate pretences upon which he was perpetually ſoliciting an increaſe of his diſgraceful ſtipend, are mentioned with becoming reprobation. The deluſion of the Popiſh plot is noticed at ſome length; and ſome admirable remarks are introduced with reference to the debates on the expediency of paſſing a bill for excluding the Duke of York from the Crown, or of impoſing certain reſtrictions on him in the event of his ſucceſſion. The following obſervations are diſtinguiſhed for their ſoundneſs, as well as their acuteneſs; and are applicable, in principle, to every period of our hiſtory in which it can be neceſſary to recur to the true principles of the conſtitution.

'It is not eaſy to conceive upon what principles even the Tories could juſtify their ſupport of the reſtrictions. Many among them, no doubt, ſaw the proviſions in the ſame light in which the Whigs repreſented them, as an expedient; admirably indeed adapted to the real object of upholding the preſent King's power, by the defeat of the excluſion, but never likely to take effect for their pretended purpoſe of controuling that of his ſucceſſor; and ſupported them for that very reaſon. But ſuch a principle of conduct was too fraudulent to be avowed; nor ought it perhaps, in candour, to be imputed to the majority of the party. To thoſe who acted with good faith, and meant that the reſtrictions ſhould really take place, and be effectual, ſurely it ought to have occurred, (and to thoſe who moſt prized the prerogatives of the crown, it ought moſt forcibly to have occurred), that in conſenting to curtail the powers of the crown, rather than to alter the ſucceſſion, they were adopting the greater, in order to avoid the leſſer evil. The queſtion of, what are to be the powers of the crown, is ſurely of ſuperior importance to that of, who ſhall wear it? Thoſe, at leaſt, who conſider the royal prerogative as veſted in the King, not for his ſake, but for that of his ſubjects, muſt conſider the one of theſe queſtions as much above the other in dignity, as the rights of the public are more valuable than thoſe of an individual. In this view, *the prerogatives of the crown are in ſubſtance and effect the rights of the people; and theſe rights of the people were not to be ſacrificed to the purpoſe of preſerving the ſucceſſion to the moſt favoured prince*, much leſs to one who, on account of his religious perſuaſion, was juſtly feared and ſuſpected. In truth, the queſtion between the excluſion and reſtrictions ſeems peculiarly calculated to aſcertain the different views in which

the different parties in this country have ſeen, and perhaps ever will ſee, the prerogatives of the crown. The Whigs, who conſider them as a truſt for the people, a doctrine which the Tories themſelves, when puſhed in argument, will ſometimes admit, naturally think it their duty rather to change the manager of the truſt, than to impair the ſubject of it; while others, who conſider them as the right or property of the King, will as naturally act as they would do in the caſe of any other property, and conſent to the loſs or annihilation of any part of it, for the purpoſe of preſerving the remainder to him, whom they ſtyle the rightful owner. If the people be the ſovereign, and the King the delegate, it is better to change the bailiff than to injure the farm; but if the King be the proprietor, it is better the farm ſhould be impaired, nay, part of it deſtroyed, than that the whole ſhould paſs over to an uſurper. The royal prerogative ought, according to the Whigs, (not in the caſe of a Popiſh ſucceſſor only, but in all caſes), to be reduced to ſuch powers as are in their exerciſe beneficial to the people; and of the benefit of theſe they will not raſhly ſuffer the people to be deprived, whether the executive power be in the hands of an hereditary, or of an elected King; of a regent, or of any other denomination of magiſtrate; while, on the other hand, they who conſider prerogative with reference only to royalty, will, with equal readineſs, conſent either to the extenſion or the ſuſpenſion of its exerciſe, as the occaſional intereſts of the prince may ſeem to require.' p. 37—39.

Of the reality of any deſign to aſſaſſinate the King by those engaged in what was called the Rye-House-Plot, Mr Fox appears to entertain conſiderable doubt, partly on account of the improbability of many of the circumſtances, and partly on account of the uniform and reſolute denial of Rumbold, the chief of that party, in circumſtances when he had no conceiveable inducement to diſguiſe the truth. Of the condemnation of Ruſſell and Sydney, he ſpeaks with the indignation which muſt be felt by all friends to liberty at the recollection of that diſgraceful proceeding. The following paſſage is one of the moſt eloquent and one of the moſt characteriſtic in the whole volume.

'Upon evidence ſuch as has been ſtated, was this great and excellent man (Sydney) condemned to die. Pardon was not to be expected. Mr Hume ſays, that ſuch an interference on the part of the King, though it might have been an act of heroick generoſity, could not be regarded as an indiſpenſable duty. He might have ſaid, with more propriety, that it was idle to expect that the government, after having incurred ſo much guilt in order to obtain the ſentence, ſhould, by remitting it, relinquiſh the object juſt when it was within its graſp. The ſame hiſtorian conſiders the jury as highly blameable, and ſo do I; but what was their guilt, in compariſon of that of the court who tried, and of the government who proſecuted, in this infamous cauſe? Yet the jury, being the only party that can with any colour be ſtated as acting independently of the government,

ment, is the only one mentioned by him as blameable. The prosecutor is wholly omitted in his censure, and so is the court; this last, not from any tenderness for the judge, (who, to do this author justice, is no favourite with him), but lest the odious connexion between that branch of the judicature and the government should strike the reader too forcibly; for Jefferies, in this instance, ought to be regarded as the mere tool and instrument (a fit one, no doubt) of the prince who had appointed him for the purpose of this and similar services. Lastly, the King is gravely introduced on the question of pardon, as if he had had no prior concern in the cause, and were now to decide upon the propriety of extending mercy to a criminal condemned by a court of judicature; nor are we once reminded what that judicature was, by whom appointed, by whom influenced, by whom called upon, to receive that detestable evidence, the very recollection of which, even at this distance of time, fires every honest heart with indignation. As well might we palliate the murders of Tiberius, who seldom put to death his victims without a previous decree of his senate. The moral of all this seems to be, that whenever a prince can, by intimidation, corruption, illegal evidence, or other such means, obtain a verdict against a subject whom he dislikes, he may cause him to be executed without any breach of indispensable duty; nay, that it is an act of heroic generosity, if he spares him. I never reflect on Mr Hume's statement of this matter but with the deepest regret. Widely as I differ from him upon many other occasions, this appears to me to be the most reprehensible passage of his whole work. A spirit of adulation towards deceased princes, though in a good measure free from the imputation of interested meanness, which is justly attached to flattery, when applied to living monarchs; yet, as it is less intelligible with respect to its motives, than the other, so is it in its consequences still more pernicious to the general interests of mankind. Fear of censure from contemporaries will seldom have much effect upon men in situations of unlimited authority; they will too often flatter themselves, that the same power which enables them to commit the crime, will secure them from reproach. The dread of posthumous infamy, therefore, being the only restraint, their consciences excepted, upon the passions of such persons; it is lamentable that this last defence, (feeble enough at best), should in any degree be impaired; and impaired it must be, if not totally destroyed, when tyrants can hope to find in a man like Hume, no less eminent for the integrity and benevolence of his heart, than for the depth and soundness of his understanding, an apologist for even their foulest murders.' p. 48—50.

The circumstances of Mr Locke's expulsion from Oxford, are narrated with rather more minuteness than seems to be necessary; and the story is summed up with this striking reflection.

'Thus, while, without the shadow of a crime, Mr Locke lost a situation attended with some emolument, and great convenience,

was the University deprived of, or rather thus, from the base principles of servility, did she cast away, the man the having produced whom is now her chiefest glory; and thus, to those who are not determined to be blind, did the true nature of absolute power discover itself, against which the middling station is not more secure than the most exalted. Tyranny, when glutted with the blood of the great, and the plunder of the rich, will condescend to hunt humbler game, and make a peaceable and innocent fellow of a college the object of its persecution.' In this instance, one would almost imagine there was some instinctive sagacity in the government of that time, which pointed out to them, even before he had made himself known to the world, the man who was destined to be the most successful adversary of superstition and tyranny.' p. 54.

The uncontrouled tyranny of Charles's administration in his latter days, is depicted with much force and fidelity; and the clamour raised by his other ministers against the Marquis of Halifax, for having given an opinion in council that the North American colonies should be made participant in the benefits of the English constitution, gives occasion to the following natural reflection.

'There is something curious in discovering, that, even at this early period, a question relative to North American liberty, and even to North American taxation, was considered as the test of principles friendly, or adverse, to arbitrary power at home. But the truth is, that among the several controversies which have arisen, there is no other wherein the natural rights of man on the one hand, and the authority of artificial institution on the other, as applied respectively, by the Whigs and Tories, to the English constitution, are so fairly put in issue, nor by which the line of separation between the two parties is so strongly and distinctly marked.' p. 60.

The character of Charles is drawn by Mr Fox with great freedom, but we think with perfect fairness and candour.

'From the facts which have been stated,' he observes, 'we may collect, that his ambition was directed solely against his subjects, while he was completely indifferent concerning the figure which he or they might make in the general affairs of Europe; and that his desire of power was more unmixed with the love of glory than that of any other man whom history has recorded; that he was unprincipled, ungrateful, mean and treacherous; to which may be added, vindictive and remorseless. For Burnet, in refusing to him the praise of clemency and forgiveness, seems to be perfectly justifiable; nor is it conceivable upon what pretence his partizans have taken this ground of panegyric. I doubt whether a single instance can be produced, of his having spared the life of any one, whom motives either of policy, or of revenge, prompted him to destroy.

'On the other hand, it would be want of candour to maintain, that Charles was entirely destitute of good qualities; nor was the propriety

propriety of Burnet's comparison between him and Tiberius ever felt, I imagine, by any one but its author. He was gay and affable; and, if incapable of the sentiments belonging to pride of a laudable sort, he was at least free from haughtiness and insolence. The praise of politeness, which the Stoics are not perhaps wrong in classing among the moral virtues, provided they admit it to be one of the lowest order, has never been denied him; and he had in an eminent degree that facility of temper which, though considered by some moralists as nearly allied to vice, yet, inasmuch as it contributes greatly to the happiness of those around us, is, in itself, not only an engaging, but an estimable quality. His support of the Queen during the heats raised by the Popish plot, ought to be taken rather as a proof that he was not a monster, than to be ascribed to him as a merit; but his steadiness to his brother, though it may and ought, in a great measure, to be accounted for upon selfish principles, had at least a strong resemblance to virtue.

'The best part of this Prince's character seems to have been his kindness towards his mistresses, and his affection for his children, and others nearly connected to him by the ties of blood. His recommendation of the Dutchess of Portsmouth and Mrs Gwyn, upon his deathbed, to his successor, is much to his honour; and they who censure it, seem, in their zeal to show themselves strict moralists, to have suffered their notions of vice and virtue to have fallen into strange confusion. Charles's connexion with those ladies might be vicious; but, at a moment when that connexion was upon the point of being finally and irrevocably dissolved, to concern himself about their future welfare, and to recommend them to his brother with earnest tenderness, was virtue. It is not for the interest of morality that the good and evil actions, even of bad men, should be confounded. His affection for the Duke Gloucester, and for the Dutchess of Orleans, seems to have been sincere and cordial. To attribute, as some have done, his grief for the loss of the first to political considerations, founded upon an intended balance of power between his two brothers, would be an absurd refinement, whatever were his general disposition; but when we reflect upon that carelessness which, especially in his youth, was a conspicuous feature of his character, the absurdity becomes still more striking. And though Burnet more covertly, and Ludlow more openly, insinuate that his fondness for his sister was of a criminal nature, I never could find that there was any ground whatever for such a suspicion; nor does the little that remains of their epistolary correspondence give it the smallest countenance. Upon the whole, Charles the Second was a bad man, and a bad king: let us not palliate his crimes; but neither let us adopt false or doubtful imputations, for the purpose of making him a Monster.' p. 62—66.

The Introductory Chapter is closed by the following profound and important remarks, which may indeed serve as a key to the whole transactions of the ensuing reign.

'Whoever reviews the interesting period which we have been discussing, upon the principle recommended in the outset of this chapter, will find, that, from the consideration of the past, to prognosticate the future, would, at the moment of Charles's demise, be no easy task. Between two persons, one of whom should expect that the country would remain sunk in slavery, the other, that the cause of freedom would revive and triumph, it would be difficult to decide, whose reasons were better supported, whose speculations the more probable. I should guess that he who desponded, had looked more at the state of the public; while he who was sanguine, had fixed his eyes more attentively upon the person who was about to mount the throne. Upon reviewing the two great parties of the nation, one observation occurs very forcibly, and that is, that the great strength of the Whigs consisted in their being able to brand their adversaries as favourers of Popery; that of the Tories (as far as their strength depended upon opinion, and not merely upon the power of the Crown), in their finding colour to represent the Whigs as republicans. From this observation we may draw a further inference, that, in proportion to the rashness of the Crown, in avowing and pressing forward the cause of Popery, and to the moderation and steadiness of the Whigs, in adhering to the form of monarchy, would be the chance of the people of England, for changing an ignominious despotism, for glory, liberty and happiness.' p. 66, 67.

James was known to have had so large a share in the councils of his brother, that no one expected any material change of system from his accession. The Church, indeed, it was feared, might be less safe under a professed Catholic; and the severity of his temper might inspire some dread of an aggravated oppression. It seems to be Mr Fox's great object, in this first chapter, to prove that the object of his early policy was, not to establish the Catholic religion, but to make himself absolute and independent of his Parliament.

'It is the more material,' he judiciously observes, 'to attend to this distinction, because the Tory historians, especially such of them as are not Jacobites, have taken much pains to induce us to attribute the violences and illegalities of this reign to James's religion, which was peculiar to him, rather than to that desire of absolute power, which so many other princes have had, have, and always will have, in common with him. The policy of such misrepresentation is obvious. If this reign is to be considered as a period insulated, as it were, and unconnected with the general course of history, and if the events of it are to be attributed exclusively to the particular character, and particular attachments of the monarch, the sole inference will be, that we must not have a Catholic for our King; whereas, if we consider it, which history well warrants us to do, as a part of that system which had been pursued by all the Stuart Kings, as well prior as subsequent to the Restoration, the lesson which it affords is very

very different, as well as far more instructive. We are taught, generally, the dangers Englishmen will always be liable to, if, from favour to a Prince upon the throne, or from a confidence, however grounded, that his views are agreeable to our own notions of the constitution, we, in any considerable degree, abate of that vigilant and unremitting jealousy of the power of the crown, which can alone secure to us the effect of those wise laws that have been provided for the benefit of the subject; and still more particularly, that it is in vain to think of making a compromise with power, and by yielding to it in other points, preserving some favourite object, such, for instance, as the Church in James's case, from its grasp.' p. 102, 103.

The fact itself, he conceives, is completely established by the manner in which his secret negotiations with France were carried on; in the whole of which, he was zealously served by ministers, no one of whom had the slightest leaning towards Popery, or could ever be brought to countenance the measures which he afterwards pursued in its favour. It is made still more evident by the complexion of his proceedings in Scotland, where the test, which he enforced at the point of the bayonet, was a Protestant test—*so much so, indeed, that he himself could not take it*—and the objects of his persecution, dissenters from the Protestant church of England. We consider this point therefore—and it is one of no small importance in the history of this period—as sufficiently established.

It does not seem necessary to follow the author into the detail of that sordid and degrading connexion which James was so anxious to establish, by becoming, like his brother, the pensioner of the French monarch. The bitter and dignified contempt with which it is treated by Mr Fox, may be guessed at from the following account of the first remittance.

'Within a very few days from that in which the latter of them had passed, he (the French ambassador) was empowered to accompany the delivery of a letter from his master, with the agreeable news of having received from him bills of exchange to the amount of five hundred thousand livres, to be used in whatever manner might be convenient to the King of England's service. The account which Barillon gives of the manner in which this sum was received, is altogether ridiculous: the King's eyes were full of tears; and three of his ministers, Rochester, Sunderland, and Godolphin, came severally to the French ambassador, to express the sense their master had of the obligation, in terms the most lavish. Indeed, demonstrations of gratitude from the King directly, as well as through his ministers, for this supply, were such, as if they had been used by some unfortunate individual, who, with his whole family, had been saved, by the timely succour of some kind and powerful protector, from a gaol and all its horrors, would be deemed rather too strong than too weak. Barillon himself seems surprised when he relates them; but imputes them to what

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was probably their real cause, to the apprehensions that had been entertained, (very unreasonable ones!), that the King of France might no longer choose to interfere in the affairs of England, and, consequently, his support could not be relied on for the grand object of assimilating this government to his own.' p. 83, 84.

After this, Lord Churchhill is sent to Paris on the part of the tributary King.

'But such was the impression made by the frankness and generosity of Lewis, that there was no question of discussing or capitulating, but every thing was remitted to that Prince, and to the information his ministers might give him, respecting the exigency of affairs in England. He who had so handsomely been beforehand, in granting the assistance of five hundred thousand livres, was only to be thanked for past, not importuned for future, munificence. Thus ended, for the present, this disgusting scene of iniquity and nonsense, in which all the actors seemed to vie with each other in prostituting the sacred names of friendship, generosity, and gratitude, in one of the meanest and most criminal transactions which history records.' p. 87.

The following reflection is as natural as it is high-minded and consolatory.

'How little could Barillon guess, that he was negotiating with one who was destined to be at the head of an administration, which, in a few years, would send the same Lord Churchill, not to Paris to implore Lewis for succours towards enslaving England, or to thank him for pensions to her monarch, but to combine all Europe against him in the cause of liberty; to rout his armies, to take his towns, to humble his pride, and to shake to the foundation that fabric of power which it had been the business of a long life to raise, at the expense of every sentiment of tenderness to his subjects, and of justice and good faith to foreign nations! It is with difficulty the reader can persuade himself that the Godolphin and Churchill here mentioned are the same persons who were afterwards, one in the cabinet, one in the field, the great conductors of the war of the Succession. How little do they appear in the one instance! how great in the other! And the investigation of the cause to which this excessive difference is principally owing, will produce a most useful lesson. Is the difference to be attributed to any superiority of genius in the prince whom they served in the latter period of their lives? Queen Anne's capacity appears to have been inferior even to her father's. Did they enjoy, in a greater degree, her favour and confidence? The very reverse is the fact. But, in one case, they were the tools of a King plotting against his people; in the other, the ministers of a free government acting upon enlarged principles, and with energies which no state that is not in some degree republican can supply. How forcibly must the contemplation of these men in such opposite situations teach persons engaged in political life, that a free and popular government is desireable, not only for the public good,

good, but for their own greatness and consideration, for every object of generous ambition!' p. 88, 89.

As James, in the outset of his reign, professed a resolution to adhere to the system of government established by his brother, and made this declaration, in the first place, to his Scotish Parliament, Mr Fox thinks it necessary to take a slight retrospective view of the proceedings of Charles towards that unhappy country; and details, from unquestionable authorities, such a scene of intolerant oppression and atrocious cruelty, as to justify him in saying, that the state of that kingdom was 'a state of more absolute slavery than at that time subsisted in any part of Christendom.'

In both Parliaments, the King's revenue was granted for life, in terms of his demand, without discussion or hesitation; and Mr Hume is censured with severity, and apparently with justice, for having presented his readers with a summary of the arguments which he would have them believe were actually used in the House of Commons on both sides of this question. 'This misrepresentation,' Mr Fox observes, 'is of no small importance, inasmuch 'as, by intimating that such a question could be debated at all, 'and much more, that it was debated with the enlightened views, 'and bold topics of argument with which his genius has supplied 'him, he gives us a very false notion of the character of the 'Parliament, and of the times which he is describing. It is not 'improbable, that if the arguments had been used, which this 'historian supposes, the utterer of them would have been expelled, or sent to the Tower; and it is certain, that he would 'not have been heard with any degree of attention, or even patience.' p. 142.

The following observations on the character of the High Church party are acute and valuable; and apply to other times besides those of which the author is treating.

'Their general character appears to have been a high notion of the King's constitutional power, to which was superadded, a kind of religious abhorrence of all resistance to the Monarch, not only in cases where such resistance was directed against the lawful prerogative, but even in opposition to encroachments, which the Monarch might make beyond the extended limits which they assigned to his prerogative. But these tenets, and still more, the principle of conduct naturally resulting from them, were confined to the civil, as contradistinguished from the ecclesiastical, polity of the country. In church matters, they neither acknowledged any very high authority in the Crown, nor were they willing to submit to any royal encroachment on that side; and a steady attachment to the church of England, with a proportionable aversion to all dissenters from it, whether Catholick or Protestant, was almost universally prevalent among

among them. A due consideration of these distinct features in the character of a party so powerful in Charles's and James's time, and even when it was lowest, (that is, during the reigns of the two first Princes of the House of Brunswick,) by no means inconsiderable, is exceedingly necessary to the right understanding of English History. It affords a clue to many passages otherwise unintelligible. For want of a proper attention to this circumstance, some historians have considered the conduct of the Tories in promoting the Revolution, as an instance of great inconsistency. Some have supposed, contrary to the clearest evidence, that their notions of passive obedience, even in civil matters, were limited, and that their support of the government of Charles and James, was founded upon a belief, that those Princes would never abuse their prerogative for the purpose of introducing arbitrary sway. But this hypothesis is contrary to the evidence both of their declaration and their conduct.'—'Absolute power in civil matters, under the specious names of monarchy and prerogative, formed a most essential part of the Tory creed; but the order in which Church and King are placed in the favourite device of the party, is not accidental, and is well calculated to show the genuine principles of such among them as are not corrupted by influence. Accordingly, as the sequel of this reign will abundantly show, when they found themselves compelled to make an option, they preferred, without any degree of inconsistency, their first idol to their second, and when they could not preserve both church and King, declared for the former.' p. 153—156.

The last chapter is more occupied with narrative, and less with argument and reflection, than that which precedes it. It contains the story of the unfortunate and desperate expeditions of Argyle and Monmouth, and of the condemnation and death of their unhappy leaders. Mr Fox, though convinced that the misgovernment was such as fully to justify resistance by arms, seems to admit that both those enterprizes were rash and injudicious. With his usual candour and openness, he observes, that 'the prudential reasons against resistance at that time were exceedingly strong; and that there is no point, indeed, in human concerns, wherein the dictates of virtue and of worldly prudence are so identified, as in this great question of resistance by force to established governments.'

The expeditions of Monmouth and Argyle had been concerted together, and were intended to take effect at the same moment. Monmouth, however, who was reluctantly forced upon the enterprise, was not so soon ready, and Argyle landed in the Highlands with a very small force before the Duke had sailed from Holland. The details of his irresolute councils and ineffectual marches, are given at far too great length. Though they give occasion to one profound and important remark, which we do not recollect ever to have met with before; but of the justice of which

which all who have acted with parties must have had melancholy and fatal experience. It is introduced when speaking of the disunion that prevailed among Argyle's little band of followers.

'Add to all this,' he says, 'that where spirit was not wanting, it was accompanied with a degree and species of perversity wholly inexplicable, and which can hardly gain belief from any one, whose experience has not made him acquainted with the extreme difficulty of persuading men, who pride themselves upon an extravagant love of liberty, rather to compromise upon some points with those who have, in the main, the same views with themselves, than to give power (a power which will infallibly be used for their own destruction) to an adversary, of principles diametrically opposite; in other words, rather to concede something to a friend, than every thing to an enemy.' p. 187, 188.

The account of Argyle's deportment from the time of his capture to that of his execution, is among the most striking passages in the book; and the mildness and magnanimity of his resignation, is described with kindred feelings by his generous historian. The merits of this nobleman are perhaps somewhat exaggerated; for he certainly wanted conduct and decision for the part he had undertaken; and more admiration is expressed at the equanimity with which he went to death, than the recent frequency of this species of heroism can allow us to sympathize with; but the story is finely and feelingly told; and the impression which it leaves on the mind of the reader is equally favourable to the author and to the hero of it. We can only make room for the concluding scene of the tragedy.

'Before he left the Castle he had his dinner at the usual hour, at which he discoursed not only calmly, but even cheerfully, with Mr Charteris and others. After dinner he retired, as was his custom, to his bedchamber, where, it is recorded, that he slept quietly for about a quarter of an hour. While he was in bed, one of the members of the council came and intimated to the attendants a desire to speak with him: upon being told that the Earl was asleep, and had left orders not to be disturbed, the manager disbelieved the account, which he considered as a device to avoid further questionings. To satisfy him, the door of the bed-chamber was half opened, and he then beheld, enjoying a sweet and tranquil slumber, the man, who by the doom of him and his fellows, was to die within the space of two short hours! Struck with the sight, he hurried out of the room, quitted the Castle with the utmost precipitation, and hid himself in in the lodgings of an acquaintance who lived near, where he flung himself upon the first bed that presented itself, and had every appearance of a man suffering the most excruciating torture. His friend, who had been apprized by the servant of the state he was in, and who naturally concluded that he was ill, offered him some wine. He refused, saying, 'No, no, that will not help me; I have been

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in at Argyle, and saw him sleeping as pleasantly as ever man did, within an hour of eternity. But as for me——.' The name of the person to whom this anecdote relates, is not mentioned, and the truth of it may therefore be fairly considered as liable to that degree of doubt, with which men of judgment receive every species of traditional history. Woodrow, however, whose veracity is above suspicion, says he had it from the most unquestionable authority. It is not in itself unlikely, and who is there that would not wish it true? What a satisfactory spectacle to a philosophical mind, to see the oppressor, in the zenith of his power, envying his victim! What an acknowledgment of the superiority of virtue! what an affecting, and forcible testimony to the value of that peace of mind, which innocence alone can confer! We know not who this man was; but when we reflect, that the guilt which agonized him was probably incurred for the sake of some vain title, or at least of some increase of wealth, which he did not want, and possibly knew not how to enjoy, our disgust is turned into something like compassion for that very foolish class of men, whom the world calls wise in their generation.' p. 207–209.

'On the scaffold he embraced his friends, gave some tokens of remembrance to his son-in-law, Lord Maitland, for his daughter and grandchildren, stript himself of part of his apparel, of which he likewise made presents, and laid his head upon the block. Having uttered a short prayer, he gave the signal to the executioner, which was instantly obeyed, and his head severed from his body. Such were the last hours, and such the final close, of this great man's life. May the like happy serenity in such dreadful circumstances, and a death equally glorious, be the lot of all, whom tyranny, of whatever denomination or description, shall in any age, or in any country, call to expiate their virtues on the scaffold!' p. 211.

Rumbold, who had accompanied Argyle in this expedition, speedily shared his fate. Though a man of intrepid courage, and fully aware of the fate that awaited him, he persisted to his last hour in professing his innocence of any design to assassinate King Charles at the Ryehouse. Mr Fox gives great importance to this circumstance; and seems disposed to conclude, on the faith of it, that the Ryehouse plot itself was altogether a fabrication of the court party, to transfer to their adversaries the odium which had been thrown upon them with as little justice, by the prosecutions for the Popish plot. It does not appear to us, however, that this conclusion is made out in a manner altogether satisfactory.

The expedition of Monmouth is detailed with as redundant a fulness as that of Argyle, and the character of its leader still more overrated. Though Mr Fox has a laudable jealousy of kings, indeed, we are afraid he has rather a partiality for nobles. Monmouth appears to have been an idle, handsome, presumptuous, incapable youth, with none of the virtues of a patriot, and notic

none of the talents of an usurper; and we really cannot discover upon what grounds Mr Fox would exalt him into a hero. He was in arms, indeed, against a tyrant; and that tyrant, though nearly connected with him by the ties of blood, sentenced him with unrelenting cruelty to death. He was plunged at once from the heights of fortune, of youthful pleasure, and of ambition, to the most miserable condition of existence,—to die disgracefully after having stooped to ask his life by abject submission. Mr Fox dwells a great deal too long, we think, both upon his wavering and unskilful movements before his defeat, and on some ambiguous words in the letter which he afterwards wrote to King James; but the natural tenderness of his disposition enables him to interest us in the description of his after sufferings. The following extract, we think, is quite characteristic of the author.

'In the meanwhile, the Queen Dowager, who seems to have behaved with a uniformity of kindness towards her husband's son that does her great honour, urgently pressed the King to admit his nephew to an audience. Importuned therefore by intreaties, and instigated by the curiosity which Monmouth's mysterious expressions, and Sheldon's story had excited, he consented, though with a fixed determination to show no mercy. James was not of the number of those, in whom the want of an extensive understanding is compensated by a delicacy of sentiment, or by those right feelings which are often found to be better guides for the conduct, than the most accurate reasoning. His nature did not revolt, his blood did not run cold, at the thoughts of beholding the son of a brother whom he had loved, embracing his knees, petitioning, and petitioning in vain, for life; of interchanging words and looks with a nephew on whom he was inexorably determined, within forty-eight short hours, to inflict an ignominious death.

'In Macpherson's extract from King's James's Memoirs, it is confessed that the King ought not to have seen, if he was not disposed to pardon the culprit; but whether the observation is made by the exiled prince himself, or by him who gives the extract, is in this, as in many other passages of those Memoirs, difficult to determine. Surely if the King had made this reflection before Monmouth's execution, it must have occurred to that Monarch, that if he had inadvertently done that which he ought not to have done without an intention to pardon, the only remedy was to correct that part of his conduct which was still in his power, and since he could not recall the interview, to grant the pardon.' p. 258, 259.

Being sentenced to die in two days, he made a humble application to the King for some little respite; but met with a positive and stern refusal. The most remarkable thing in the history of his last hours, is the persecution which he suffered from the bishops who had been sent to comfort him. These reverend persons, it appears, spent the greater part of the time in urging him

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to profess the orthodox doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance; without which, they said, he could not be an upright member of the church, nor attain to a proper state of repentance. It must never be forgotten, indeed, as Mr Fox has remarked, if we would understand the history of this period, 'that the orthodox members of the church regarded monarchy not as a human, but as a *divine* institution; and passive obedience and non-resistance, not as political measures, but as *articles of religion.*'

The following account of the dying scene of this misguided and unhappy youth, is very striking and pathetic; though a certain tone of sarcasm towards the reverend assistants does not, to our feelings, harmonize entirely with the more tender traits of the picture.

'At ten o'clock on the 15th, Monmouth proceeded in a carriage of the Lieutenant of the Tower, to Tower-Hill, the place destined for his execution. The two bishops were in the carriage with him, and one of them took that opportunity of informing him, that their controversial altercations were not yet at an end; and that upon the scaffold, he would again be pressed for more explicit and satisfactory declarations of repentance. When arrived at the bar, which had been put up for the purpose of keeping out the multitude, Monmouth descended from the carriage, and mounted the scaffold, with a firm step, attended by his spiritual assistants. The sheriffs and executioners were already there. The concourse of spectators was innumerable, and if we are to credit traditional accounts, never was the general compassion more affectingly expressed. The tears, sighs, and groans, which the first sight of this heart-rending spectacle produced, were soon succeeded by an universal and awful silence; a respectful attention, and affectionate anxiety, to hear every syllable that should pass the lips of the sufferer. The Duke began by saying he should speak little; he came to die, and he should die a Protestant of the church of England. Here he was interrupted by the assistants, and told, that, if he was of the church of England, he must acknowledge the doctrine of Non-resistance to be true. In vain did he reply that if he acknowledged the doctrine of the church in general, it included all: they insisted he should own *that* doctrine particularly with respect to his case, and urged much more concerning their favourite point; upon which, however, they obtained nothing but a repetition, in substance, of former answers.' p. 265, 266.

After making a public profession of his attachment to his beloved Lady Harriet Wentworth, and his persuasion that their connexion was innocent in the sight of God, he made reference to a paper he had signed in the morning, confessing the illegitimacy of his birth, and declaring that the title of King had been forced on him by his followers, much against his own inclination.

'The Bishop, however said, that there was nothing in that paper about

about resistance; nor, though Monmouth, quite worn out with their importunities, said to one of them, in a most affecting manner, "I am to die,—Pray my Lord,—" I refer to my paper," would these men think it consistent with their duty to desist. They were only a few words they desired on one point. The substance of these applications on one hand, and answers on the other, was repeated, over and over again, in a manner that could not be believed, if the facts were not attested by the signature of the persons principally concerned. If the Duke, in declaring his sorrow for what had passed, used the word invasion, "give it the true name," said they, "and call it rebellion." "What name you please," replied the mild-tempered Monmouth. He was sure he was going to everlasting happiness, and considered the serenity of his mind in his present circumstances, as a certain earnest of the favour of his Creator. His repentance, he said, must be true, for he had no fear of dying; he should die like a lamb. "Much may come from natural courage," was the unfeeling and stupid reply of one of the assistants. Monmouth, with that modesty inseparable from true bravery, denied that he was in general less fearful than other men, maintaining that his present courage was owing to his consciousness that God had forgiven him his past transgressions, of all which generally he repented with all his soul.

'At last the reverend assistants consented to join with him in prayer, but no sooner were they risen from their kneeling posture, than they returned to their charge. Not satisfied with what had passed, they exhorted him to a *true* and *thorough* repentance; would he not pray for the King? and send a dutiful message to his Majesty, to recommend the Dutchess and his children? As "you please;" was the reply, "I pray for him and for all men." He now spoke to the executioner, desiring that he might have no cap over his eyes, and began undressing. One would have thought that in this last sad ceremony, the poor prisoner might have been unmolested, and that the divines would have been satisfied, that prayer was the only part of their function for which their duty now called upon them. They judged differently; and one of them had the fortitude to request the Duke, even in this stage of the business, that he would address himself to the soldiers then present, to tell them he stood a sad example of rebellion, and entreat the people to be loyal and obedient to the King. "I have said I will make no speeches," repeated Monmouth, in a tone more peremptory than he had before been provoked to; "I will make no speeches. I come to die." "My Lord, ten words will be enough," said the persevering divine, to which the Duke made no answer, but turning to the executioner, expressed a hope that he would do his work better now than in the case of Lord Russel. He then felt the axe, which he apprehended was not sharp enough, but being assured that it was of proper sharpness and weight, he laid down his head. In the mean time, many fervent ejaculations were used by the reverend assistants, who, it

must be observed, even in these moments of horror, showed themselves not unmindful of the points upon which they had been disputing; praying God to accept his *imperfect* and *general* repentance.

'The executioner now struck the blow, but so feebly or unskilfully, that Monmouth being but slightly wounded, lifted up his head, and looked him in the face as if to upbraid him, but said nothing. The two following strokes were as ineffectual as the first, and the headsman in a fit of horror, declared he could not finish his work. The sheriffs threatened him; he was forced again to make a further trial, and in two more strokes separated the head from the body.' p. 267—269.

With the character of Monmouth, the second chapter of the history closes; and nothing seems to have been written for the third, but a few detached observations, occupying but two pages. The Appendix is rather longer than was necessary. The greater part of the diplomacy which it contains, had been previously published by Macpherson and Dalrymple; and the other articles are of little importance.

We have now only to add a few words as to the style and taste of composition which belongs to this work. We cannot say that we vehemently admire it. It is a diffuse, and somewhat heavy style,—clear and manly, indeed, for the most part, but sometimes deficient in force, and almost always in vivacity. In its general structure, it resembles the style of the age of which it treats, more than the balanced periods of the succeeding century—though the diction is scrupulously purified from the long and Latin words which defaced the compositions of Milton and Harrington. In his antipathy to every thing that might be supposed to look like pedantry or affected loftiness, it appears to us, indeed, that the illustrious author has sometimes fallen into an opposite error, and admitted a variety of words and phrases rather more homely and familiar than should find place in a grave composition. Thus, it is said in p. 12, that 'the King *made no point* of adhering to his concessions.' In p. 20, we hear of men '*swearing away* the lives of their accomplices; and are afterwards told of 'the *style* of thinking' of the country—of '*the crying injustice*' of certain proceedings—and of persons who were '*fond of ill-treating* and insulting' other persons. These, we think, are phrases too colloquial for regular history, and which the author has probably been induced to admit into this composition from his long familiarity with spoken, rather than with written language. What is merely lively and natural in a speech, however, will often appear low and vapid in writing. The following is a still more striking illustration. In speaking of the Oxford Decree, which declared the doctrine of an original contract, the lawfulness of changing the succession, &c. to be *impious* as well as seditious, and leading to

to *atheism*, as well as rebellion, Mr Fox is pleased to observe—'If Much ado about Nothing had been published in those days, the town-clerk's declaration, that receiving a thousand ducats for accusing the Lady Hero wrongfully, was "*flat burglary*," might be supposed to be a satire upon this decree; yet Shakespeare, well as he knew human nature, not only as to its general course, but in all its eccentric deviations, could never dream, that, in the persons of Dogberry, Verges, and their followers, he was representing the vice-chancellors and doctors of our learned University.' It would require all the credit of a well-established speaker, to have passed this comparison, with any success, upon the House of Commons; but even the high name of Mr Fox, we believe, will be insufficient to conceal its impropriety in a serious passage of a history, written in imitation of Livy and Thucydides.

As examples of an opposite fault of diction, we may mention the phrases, 'to *diffide in*, and to *defer to*,' the opinion of others; and allude to those extraordinary passages, in one of which it is gravely questioned, whether the parliamentary leaders had 'sufficiently attended *to that great dictum of Tully*, in questions of civil dissension,' &c.; or 'considered, that it is not peculiar *to the followers of Pompey*, or the civil wars *of Rome*, that the event to be looked for is, as the same Tully describes it, in case of defeat,—proscription; in that of victory,—servitude?' And in the other, of which he is pleased to remark, that 'if *Aristides* was banished, he was also recalled; and if *Dion* was repaid for his services *to the Syracusans* by ingratitude, that ingratitude was more than once repented of.' This unnecessary and almost unmeaning introduction of classical names, appears to us, we will acknowledge, extremely absurd, and an ornament far more suitable to the theme of a brisk Etonian, than to a history of the civil wars of England by the greatest of her practical statesmen.

We have also been struck with various instances of awkward collocation or expression; such as, in the very second paragraph, 'but what the tendency of such changes would be, *and much more*, in what manner they would be produced, might be a question of great difficulty.' And again, 'Some doubted whether, *short of establishing all the doctrines* preached by Cargill, there was any thing worth contending for.'—'Monmouth, having placed, of *his four field-pieces, two at the mouth of the lane*,' &c.—'The King did not suffer himself, *by any show of affection for his people, to be diverted from his design*,' &c. The following, we conceive, to be ungrammatical, as well as awkward; the word *whether* never being used, we apprehend, as equivalent to *either*. 'To this ditch the horse advanced, and no further; and whether immediately,

'diately, as according to some accounts, or after having been 'considerably harassed in their attempts to pass, according to o-'thers, quitted the field.' There are also very many instances of unnecessary and cumbrous redundance; as when, instead of saying 'incalculable advantages,' he is pleased to speak of 'advan-'tages of an importance and extent, of which no man could pre-'sume to calculate the limits.' We would object also to such expressions as 'the *then* state of Scotland,'—intelligence which appeared 'uncertain and *provisional*,'—and many others, which, after the specimens we have given, it is needless to enumerate.

Occupied, indeed, as we conceive all the readers of Mr Fox ought to be with the sentiments and the facts which he lays before them, we should scarcely have thought of noticing those verbal blemishes at all, had we not read so much in the preface, of the fastidious diligence with which the diction of this work was purified, and its style elaborated by the author. To this praise, we cannot say we think it entitled; but to praise of a far higher description, its claim, we think, is indisputable. Independent of its singular value as a memorial of the virtues and talents of the great statesman whose name it bears, we have no hesitation in saying, that it is written more truly in the spirit of constitutional freedom, and of temperate and practical patriotism, than any history of which the public is yet in possession.

ART. II. *Memoire sur les Quantités Imaginaires.* Par M. Buëe. From the Phil. Transf. for the year 1806. p. 23.

THE language of algebra deserves the attention, not of mathematicians only, but of all philosophers who would study the influence which SIGNS have on the formation of ideas, and the acquisition of knowledge. Other languages have been formed for the purpose of communicating thought from one person to another; and if they have served to make the individual think with more accuracy or extension, this effect is a secondary one, and in some degree accidental. Algebra, on the other hand, is a language invented expressly for the purpose of assisting the mind in the management of thought: this is its primary destination; and the business of communicating knowledge, which is principal with respect to other languages, with respect to it, is secondary and accidental.

When, therefore, we would trace the direct influence of signs on the operations of the mind, we must consider the algebraic language as the extreme case, or the *instantia singularis*, where the extent

extent of that influence, in ſome reſpects at leaſt, is moſt fully diſplayed.

Again, in the language of algebra itſelf, the part which is moſt curious, and is, as it were, the extreme of an extreme, is the application of imaginary expreſſions to the inveſtigation of theorems, where truth is ſometimes diſcovered by the help of ſigns alone, without any aſſiſtance at all from the ideas which they repreſent.

In a matter where any thing ſo paradoxical occurs as the entire ſeparation of the ſign from the thing ſignified, it will not appear ſurpriſing if different opinions have been entertained. The opinions that are ſupported in the paper before us, are accordingly conſiderably different from thoſe generally received. In order to judge of them correctly, it is neceſſary to conſider the manner in which the ſigns called imaginary, and the correſponding impoſſible quantities, are firſt introduced into the algebraic calculus.

In the reſolution of problems, whether geometrical or arithmetical, caſes occur when the conditions preſcribed are inconſiſtent with one another, and cannot poſſibly be united in the ſame ſubject. The problem, therefore, cannot be ſolved, and the quantity that was to be found is ſaid to become *impoſſible*. Thus, for example, if it were required to divide a line, 10 feet long, into two parts, ſuch, that the rectangle under thoſe two parts ſhould have an area of 26 ſquare feet, it would ſoon appear that the thing required is impoſſible to be done; or that there is no way in which a line only 10 feet long can be divided, ſo that the rectangle contained by the two parts ſhall be ſo great as 26 ſquare feet. The fact is, that the rectangle under the two parts of a given line, cannot exceed the ſquare of half the line; which ſquare, in the preſent inſtance, is 25; and if we ſeek for the parts on the ſuppoſition that their rectangle is 26, we find them equal to $5 \pm \sqrt{-1}$. In like manner, were we required to divide the ſame line of 10 feet, ſo that the *ſum of the ſquares* of the parts ſhould be leſs than 50, that is, leſs than the ſum of the ſquares of the parts when the line is biſected, we ſhould find that we were again attempting what was impoſſible to be done. If we would have the ſum of the ſaid ſquares, for inſtance, to be 49, the parts would come out $= 5 \pm \sqrt{-\frac{1}{4}}$, where the impoſſibility is denoted as in the former inſtance, by the ſquare root of a negative quantity. As no quantity, whether poſitive or negative, when multiplied into itſelf, can give a negative product, it follows, that no negative quantity can be the product of any quantity multiplied into itſelf; that is, it can have no ſquare root; and therefore, when ſuch a ſquare root appears in the value of any quantity, it expreſſes the impoſſibility of finding that quantity.

In the two problems juſt mentioned, we have two of the moſt

elementary examples that can be given of the impoſſibility of the conditions of a problem, ariſing from the quantities involved in one of the conditions being too great or too ſmall, in reſpect of thoſe involved in the other. In the firſt, the rectangle required to be made has a greater area than the ſum of its ſides will allow. In the ſecond, the ſum of the ſquares of the two lines is leſs than is conſiſtent with the ſum which the two lines themſelves are required to make up.

Though geometry has no character that expreſſes impoſſibility, it has a ſort of negative or indirect expreſſion for it. In the general conſtruction of a problem, the thing to be found is uſually determined by the interſection of a curve with a ſtraight line, or of one curve with another. Now, when the conditions of the problem are ſuch, that theſe lines do not interſect, then the ſolution is impoſſible; and this incompatibility of the conditions is the ſame that algebra denotes by the imaginary ſymbol $\sqrt{-1}$, or more generally, $\sqrt{-a}$.

No part of the language of algebra, it is plain, can be regarded as of greater importance than that in which theſe imaginary characters are employed. It explains the nature of thoſe limits by which the poſſible relations of things are circumſcribed, and marks out the conditions that are capable of being united in the ſame thing, or in the ſame ſyſtem of things. The greateſt and the leaſt degrees in which thoſe conditions can co-exiſt, come in this manner to be determined; and we arrive at a ſpecies of knowledge, which, as it is in itſelf the moſt perfect and moſt beautiful, is often the moſt valuable that the doctrine of quantity can ſupply. The whole of what regards the *maxima* and *minima* of quantities, in geometry and in mechanics, and the other branches either of pure or mixt mathematics, is thus eſſentially connected with the arithmetic of impoſſible quantity.

It is evident, from this account of their origin, that the eſſential character of imaginary expreſſions is to denote impoſſibility; and that nothing can deprive them of this ſignification. Nothing like a geometrical conſtruction can be applied to them; they are indications of the impoſſibility of any ſuch conſtruction, or of any thing that can be exhibited to the ſenſes. Though this concluſion ſeems to follow very evidently from what has juſt been ſtated, yet there have been more than one attempt to treat imaginary expreſſions as denoting things really exiſting, or as certain geometrical magnitudes which it is poſſible to aſſign.

The paper before us is one of theſe attempts; and the author, though an ingenious man, and, as we readily acknowledge, a ſkilful mathematician, has been betrayed into this inconſiſtency by a kind of metaphyſical reaſoning, which we confeſs ourſelves not

not always able to understand. He distinguishes between the mark of impossibility, as an arithmetical character, and as a term of algebraic language indicating certain operations that have been performed. In the first of these capacities, he considers the symbol $\sqrt{-1}$, as really denoting impossibility; in the second, he regards it as expressing something that can be actually exhibited. This distinction, in the very principle of it, seems to us extremely unsound; an expression that, in its most simple and abstract state, has a certain radical and primitive signification, cannot, by being applied to something less abstract, acquire a signification quite opposite, and nowise analogous to that which it had before. We transfer the common arithmetical cyphers from denoting number in the abstract, to denote, lines or angles, surfaces and solids; but we never, on that account, think of changing the rules of arithmetic, or supposing 3 times 3 to be 9, in the one case, and not in the other. The same may be said of the signs + and —; they denote opposition of direction when they are applied to the expression of geometric magnitudes; but they do not, on that account, lose any of the characters they before possessed: it is from the perfect analogy between opposition of direction in lines, and the opposition of addition and subtraction in numbers, that signs, which were originally appropriated to the latter, are so easily, and so safely transferable to the former signification. Just so, we apprehend, the mark of impossibility cannot be regarded as having one import considered arithmetically, and another quite opposite, when taken as a part of algebraic language, or when applied to geometry.

We do not, indeed, clearly understand what is meant by this distinction; and therefore shall not insist on the general speculation: but shall consider the evidence that is offered by our author for his fundamental proposition, that the square root of — 1 expressed *perpendicularity*. As we must give the reasoning without reference to a diagram, we cannot translate it literally, but we shall do so as nearly as possible.

'Suppose three equal straight lines to meet in a point, two of them to be in one straight line, the one to the right of the said point, the other to the left, and the third to be at right angles to them both. If we call the line taken to the right + 1, that taken to the left must be — 1, and the third, which is a mean proportional between them, must be $\sqrt{-1^2}$, or, more simply, $\sqrt{-1}$. Thus, $\sqrt{-1}$, is the sign of PERPENDICULARITY.' (§ 10.) Now, we must acknowledge, that though we have read over these few lines very often, and very carefully, we are unable to perceive any force in the argument they profess to contain, or to conceive how a man, so learned and ingenious as the author is on

all hands admitted to be, should have suffered himself for one moment to be deceived by it.

Any imaginable conclusion, it appears to us, might have been obtained in the same manner; the third line, for example, needed not have been placed at right angles to the other two, but making an angle, suppose of 120 degrees, with the one, and of 60 with the other. It would still be a mean proportional between them, and its square would be therefore, according to the above method of reasoning, equal to $+1 \times -1 = -1$, so that the line itself would be $= \sqrt{-1}$; and thus $\sqrt{-1}$ would denote, not *perpendicularity*, or the situation in which a line makes the adjacent angles equal, but that in which it makes one of these angles double of the other. The one of these arguments is just as good as the other; and neither of them, of course, is of any value.

Indeed, it would evidently be very unfortunate for science, and could not but be productive of inextricable confusion in mathematical language, if the character which denoted impossibility at one time, should at another signify something actually existing like perpendicularity. It should have occurred to our author, also, that perpendicularity not being a quantity, but a modification of quantity, (for it is neither the right angle nor the perpendicular itself, that the sign $\sqrt{-1}$ is supposed to denote, but the abstract notion perpendicularity), it would be strange indeed if a character that was applied to quantity, whether as possible or not possible, should pass to the expression of something, of which magnitude or quantity cannot be predicated.

The fundamental proposition which the whole paper is meant to illustrate, being thus, in our opinion, incapable of support, and essentially erroneous, we need not enter much into the consideration of the remaining illustrations. Some of the objections made to the ordinary doctrine of impossible quantities, are, however, of importance to be considered. That doctrine is certainly not in all respects without difficulty; and it is of consequence to know the objections which are stated by an expert algebraist, who entertains notions on the subject peculiar to himself.

At § 95, we meet with the following remarks. '$1^2 + 1^2 = (1 + \sqrt{-1})\ (1 - \sqrt{-1})$, or $(1 + \sqrt{-1})\ (1 - \sqrt{-1}) = 2$, wherefore $1 + \sqrt{-1} : \sqrt{2} :: \sqrt{2} : 1 - \sqrt{-1}$; a proposition absurd, if we give to $\sqrt{2}$ its arithmetical signification; but if we ascribe to $\sqrt{2}$ its geometric signification, if we make it represent the diagonal of a square, the side of which is unity, the above proportion ceases to be absurd.' M. Buëe goes on to prove, that in this latter signification of $\sqrt{2}$, the proportion that has just been stated, is reconcileable with the notion, that $\sqrt{-1}$ is the mark

mark of perpendicularity. Instead of following that demonstration, it is sufficient for us to show, that in ascribing to $\sqrt{2}$ its arithmetical meaning, that of a number which, multiplied into itself, gives 2 for the product, the above proportion $1+\sqrt{-1} : \sqrt{2} :: \sqrt{2} : 1-\sqrt{-1}$, is so far from absurd, that it is accurately true, and capable of being understood in the strictest sense. It signifies that two quantities of the form $1+\sqrt{a}$ and $1-\sqrt{a}$ cannot be found such that their product shall be equal to 2, or, which is the same, that it is impossible to find two numbers such that their sum shall be equal to 2, and that $\sqrt{2}$ shall be a mean proportional between them. This impossibility is, even without any investigation, abundantly evident; and is, in fact, all that is involved in the preceding proposition, interpreting it strictly, according to the notion, that $\sqrt{-1}$ denotes impossibility, and nothing else.

It is easy to prove this impossibility otherwise: Let x and y be the numbers, then $x+y=2$ and $xy=2$, whence $x+\frac{2}{x}=2$, or, $x^2-2x=-2$, so that $x^2-2x+1=-1$, and $x-1=\sqrt{-1}$, that is, $x=1\pm\sqrt{-1}$. The value of x therefore, and consequently of y, is impossible; these values have also the same form that was ascribed to them in the above proportion.

§ 47. affords a very singular example of the length to which a man may be carried, in the support of a favourite theory, without being conscious that he is departing in the least from philosophical reasoning.

The problem proposed is, to construct a triangle, of which the base shall be $2a$, and each of the sides $=\frac{1}{2}a$; a thing evidently impossible. The algebraic solution, if the perpendicular from the vertex on the base be the thing sought, gives that perpendicular equal to an impossible quantity. This is exactly what ought to happen, in the ordinary view of the subject. But our author, not content with this, goes on to show how the impossible expression may be interpreted according to his own theory, which makes $\sqrt{-1}$ the sign of perpendicularity. In order to do this, he is forced to suppose, that the given lines that are to constitute the sides of the triangle, are not lines without extension in any dimension but one; that they have, in reality, breadth as well as length; in short, that they are rectangles, and rectangles of such a magnitude that their diagonals meet in the middle of the base $2a$. This is certainly to depart from the notions that are most essential to mathematical science, and that form the sacred and indisputable basis by which the whole fabric of geometry is supported. In a science where all the parts are necessarily connected, an error can never stand singly; a departure from truth in one instance,

ſtance, muſt be followed with innumerable others; and thus it has happened, that the notion of $\sqrt{-1}$ being a mark both of things poſſible and things impoſſible, has led to an extravagance that could not eaſily have been foreſeen, viz. the exiſtence of a ſtraight line having two dimenſions; or, which comes to the ſame thing, the ſubſtitution of a rectangle for a ſtraight line. Another ſuppoſition, no leſs extraordinary, is introduced in another place, where M. Buëe ſays, that the ſign $\sqrt{-1}$ put before the expreſſion of a cube, or a parallelopiped, marks a *void* or *vacuity* of which the extent is equal to that of the ſaid cube or parallelopiped;—as if geometry meaſured matter by any means but the ſpace it occupies. § 81.

In the midſt of this error in principle, we diſcover a great deal of ſkilful and ingenious application of the calculus. This is particularly true of the remarks on Cardan's rule, and the irreducible caſe of that rule; in which, however, the errors of this theory are ſo much involved, that we cannot by any means inſure the accuracy of the reſults.

The objections which we have offered are ſo obvious, that they cannot but have occurred to a man ſo learned and acute as our author. He has, however, by certain metaphyſical ſubtleties, ſet himſelf above theſe plain dictates of elementary ſcience. We do not, indeed, very clearly comprehend many of theſe ſubtleties; and we do not much lament that we feel an incapacity of doing ſo. It ſeems very uſeful, on ſome occaſions, to have one's head fortified with a decent degree of obtuſeneſs, to prevent the influx of falſe refinements, which, when ſuffered to intrude themſelves into the mind, are very apt to diſpoſſeſs the lawful inhabitants. From a remark which M. Buëe makes on a paſſage from the Turin Memoirs, it is evident that he was not unacquainted with objections ſimilar to thoſe now ſtated, to which his notion of imaginary quantities is expoſed. Theſe are objections ſtated by the Chevalier Foncenex to a conſtruction of impoſſible quantities, that had been attempted long ago on principles not wholly diſſimilar to thoſe contained in the Memoir before us. 'If we reflect on the nature of imaginary roots, which, as is well known, imply a contradiction among the things given, it will appear evident, that they cannot poſſibly admit of a geometrical conſtruction, ſince there is no way of conſidering them that can remove the contradiction that exiſts among *data* which are themſelves immoveable. Nevertheleſs, in order to preſerve a certain analogy with negative quantities, an author, from whom we have a very good courſe of algebra, conceives, that they ought to be taken in a line perpendicular to that in which they were ſuppoſed to be taken.' M. de Foncenex goes on to ſhow, that the notion of the author he refers

fers to is abſurd. He does ſo, as we think, very ſucceſsfully; but M. Buëe, who had this paſſage before him, and quotes it in his Memoir, ſeems to get rid of the difficulty by means of the diſtinctions mentioned above.

We ſhall conclude theſe remarks with ſome reflections on what we conſider as the great paradox in the arithmetic of impoſſible quantities, and as one of the moſt curious examples of the power of ſigns which the hiſtory of language affords, viz. the purpoſe which imaginary expreſſions ſerve, not for marking the limits of poſſibility, but for demonſtrating theorems concerning quantities that really exiſt.

The character that denotes impoſſibility, as we have ſeen, appears always in the form of the value of a quantity of ſome deſcription. It is not a mere abſtract note of impoſſibility, but of impoſſibility attached to ſome particular quantity, on account of inconſiſtent conditions introduced into the *data* from which that quantity muſt be determined. As the character $\sqrt{-1}$, or $\sqrt{-a}$, appears, therefore, as the expreſſion of a magnitude, it is a ſymbol ſubject to the ſame operations of arithmetic, addition, ſubtraction, &c. with other algebraic expreſſions of quantity. Hence the imaginary ſymbols, conſidering them quite abſtractly from their ſignification, may be treated by the rules uſually employed in thoſe operations; and the ſame changes may be made on them as if they really ſignified things poſſible, and actually exiſting. Now it ſometimes happens, that, by comparing two expreſſions thus involving impoſſible quantities in both, and combining them by the ordinary rules that would be applicable to them in ſtrict logic, if they denoted things really exiſting, the impoſſible ſymbols finally diſappear, having been exterminated by ſome of the ordinary operations of algebra; ſo that an equation reſults that contains nothing impoſſible, or involves no quantities but ſuch as are real. Thus we have a propoſition affirmed concerning real quantities; and it is very well underſtood, that the propoſition thus diſcovered is always a truth,—a truth that is often very valuable, that in general is ſuſceptible of demonſtration without impoſſible ſymbols, though without the uſe of them it might never have been diſcovered. Now, in this we have certainly a moſt extraordinary example of the power of ſigns, or of algebraic language. A ſet of quantities, or of conditions, ſome of which are inconſiſtent with one another, are thus combined together: no idea is attached to the ſymbols; and from the ſeries of operations, that may be ſaid to be mechanical, and performed merely by the hand, a truth, applicable to quantities that really exiſt, emerges at laſt. Were we to attempt to reaſon concerning theſe impoſſibilities by any other means, than by thus ſubjecting them

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to a treatment which belongs only to the ſigns, no force of head could have brought out any thing, not to ſay rational and true, but any thing that poſſeſſed even the form of a propoſition.

We come at truth by help of the ſymbols alone; by operations that are applicable to them only, and that have no reference to any thing actually exiſting. Nothing, certainly, can ſhow ſo clearly the power of conventional ſigns in matters of reaſoning; and the importance, on many occaſions, of neglecting the object, and attending to the ſign only.

It is indeed no wonder at all, to see men reason, or pretend to reason, in every one of the sciences, by help of imaginary expressions, or words that denote nothing having an actual or even a possible existence; but the wonder is to find, that, by such a process, they are led to the discovery of truth. The history of philosophy is full of instances in which words, having nothing real that corresponded to them, have been combined according to the rules of logic, and, in the forms of syllogism, have been the study of the learned and ingenious of almost every age. If we take the terms which have made the greatest noise in the world from the Quintessence and Entelecheia of the ancients, to the Vortices and Phlogiston of the moderns, and the arguments that have been held concerning them, we shall find a vast deal that has no small resemblance to the operations of our imaginary arithmetic. But, in one thing, the practice of the philosopher was different from that of the mathematician: he had not the secret of exterminating the impossible quantities in the end; so that they remained involved in the conclusion, just as they had done in the premises. The extermination of them he left to his adversaries, or his successors; and, when they accomplished it, the whole system, both the argument and the conclusion, fell to the ground at once, and left nothing behind, but one fact more, to be recorded in the history of error. If the imaginary arithmetic of the algebraist exemplifies the benefit arising from the use of *ſigns*, in the highest degree, the imaginary logic of philosophers places the mischiefs that may follow from it in a light hardly less striking.

An example of this imaginary arithmetic will explain what has been said. Let us imagine that we have, by some means or other, come to this equation: x being an arch of a circle, $(2 \sin x) \sqrt{-1} = e^{x\sqrt{-1}} - e^{-x\sqrt{-1}}$, in which all the quantities are affected by the imaginary symbol, and to which no direct meaning can be affixed, but that between an arch and its sine; no such relation as is expressed by the equation $(2 \sin x)\, n = e^{nx} - e^{-nx}$ can possibly exist, whatever value be given to the letter n. This

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is all the direct information that the imaginary equation conveys: it is merely a negative conclusion, and, one would think, not very likely to lead to any valuable and affirmative truth. Yet, observe the proposition that may be extracted from these very unpromising premises, by treating $\sqrt{-1}$ as if it were a real quantity.

From the theory of logarithms and of exponentials, we know that $e^{nx} = 1 + nx + \frac{n^2x^2}{2} + \frac{n^3x^3}{2.3} + \frac{n^4x^4}{2.3.4} +$, &c.; so that, if we write $\sqrt{-1}$ instead of n, we have

$$e^{x\sqrt{-1}} = 1 + x\sqrt{-1} - \frac{x^2}{2} - \frac{x^3\sqrt{-1}}{2.3} + \frac{x^4}{2.3.4} +, \&c.$$

In the same manner,

$$e^{-x\sqrt{-1}} = 1 - x\sqrt{-1} - \frac{x^2}{2} + \frac{x^3\sqrt{-1}}{2.3} + \frac{x^4}{2.3.4} -, \&c.$$

Therefore, subtracting this last from the former,

$$e^{x\sqrt{-1}} - e^{-x\sqrt{-1}} = 2x\sqrt{-1} - \frac{2x^3\sqrt{-1}}{2.3} + \frac{2x^5\sqrt{-1}}{2.3.4.5}, \&c.$$

But $e^{x\sqrt{-1}} - e^{-x\sqrt{-1}} = 2\sin x\sqrt{-1}$, by supposition.

Therefore, $2\sin x\sqrt{-1} = 2x\sqrt{-1} - \frac{2x^3\sqrt{-1}}{2.3} + \frac{2x^5\sqrt{-1}}{2.3.4.5}$;

and, dividing by $2\sqrt{-1}$, just as if $\sqrt{-1}$ were a real quantity,

$$\sin x = x - \frac{x^3}{2.3} + \frac{x^5}{2.3.4.5} -, \&c.$$

Now, this is an equation between the arch and its sine, where there are none but real quantities. We have thus an infinite series for the value of the sine in terms of the arch; and, on examination, it is found to be a theorem known from other principles to be true, and the very proposition from which the sines of the small arches in the trigonometric tables are computed.

Though the preceding operations have led to a true and important conclusion, it is not obvious on what principle they have done so. When we effaced the character $\sqrt{-1}$ from all the terms of the equation, we performed the same change on the algebraic characters that is usually expressive of division; but we certainly did not really perform division; for what is meant by dividing by an impossible quantity, or telling how often an impossible quantity contains another; if the quantity be impossible to multiply or divide by it, or to make it the subject of any arithmetical operation, must be impossible also. The operations performed with the symbols are therefore destitute of meaning; they are as imaginary as the symbols themselves; and yet they have led to a conclusion that is true, and by no means obvious. The efficacy of signs taken distinctly from the ideas they represent,

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was never so strongly evinced; and the result now obtained, by considering the former and neglecting the latter, is a triumph which the imagination of the most sanguine *nominalist* could never have anticipated.

But what is the real principle on which such investigations as the foregoing are successful? and what is the precise nature of the evidence that they afford? As to the latter question, we know from experience, that in all the instances where we could compare the conclusions obtained by help of impossible quantities with the results of ordinary investigation, we have found that they agreed perfectly. This agreement cannot be the effect of chance; no man, by tossing about at random the symbols that denote quantities, ever arrived at a true, or even an intelligible proposition. It is therefore clear, that a fixt and determinate principle directs the mathematician, in this case, as well as in those where his understanding accompanies every step of his demonstration. The principle may not be obvious, but its existence is thus rendered undeniable. Many mathematicians, we are convinced, rest here, and carry their inquiries no further; confiding perfectly in the imaginary operations, which, from experience, they have found to lead to truth, whenever a perfect analogy is kept up between them and the real operations of arithmetic and of algebra. But it is certainly reasonable to go a little further, and to inquire what this principle really is. Without knowing it precisely, we shall always be in danger of error. M. D'Alembert, who had bestowed much attention on the subject of impossible quantities, appears, from many passages in his writings, to have been fully aware of the importance of this inquiry, though he has not professedly entered on it, nor given us any ground to conjecture what was the opinion which he entertained. Maclaurin satisfies himself with supposing, that a certain compensation takes place among the impossible quantities, by which they destroy the effects of one another. This, however, presents no clear idea to the mind, and leaves the difficulty of applying the notion of subtraction, &c. to things that cannot exist. More lately, Mr Woodhouse, treating of the same subject, seems to be of opinion that no inquiry of this kind is at all necessary, the identity of the operations performed on the symbols being a sufficient security against error, whatever these symbols denote, whether things real or impossible. We have already stated the reasons that prevent us from acquiescing in this view of the matter, and for thinking that the subject ought to be further investigated. One idea concerning it we must mention, as not destitute of plausibility, founded on this remark; that in all the instances where impossible quantities or imaginary expressions have been of use in the investigation

vestigation of mathematical theorems, those theorems have related either to circular arches, or hyperbolic areas; quantities so remarkable for analogical properties, that there is no general affection of the one to which there is not a corresponding affection of the other. The theorems then that admit of investigation by an imaginary process, are of such a nature as to go always in pairs, one belonging to the hyperbola, the other to the circle; or, one to the measures of ratios, and the other to the measures of angles. One of these twin theorems can always be investigated by the real, or ordinary processes of algebra; but when the same method is to be extended to the other, the imaginary character makes its appearance; if, however, the symbols be treated in the same way as in the other case, that character disappears, and a theorem emerges perfectly analagous to that already investigated. In this view of the matter, the operations with the imaginary characters are nothing but a mode of tracing, or keeping in sight, the analogy between the circle and hyperbola, and have no more force than any other conclusion founded on that analogy. This may be illustrated by the example formerly given from the circle.

Another question has arisen concerning the investigations carried on by help of imaginary expressions, viz. Whether they ought to be tolerated in sciences that boast, like geometry and arithmetic, of the evidence and clearness of their demonstrations. Among certain *Purists* in algebraic language, no quarter is allowed to such modes of expression as we have been here treating of; and the investigations that proceed by help of them are considered as delusive artifices, unworthy of the name of science. To this opinion, however, we can by no means subscribe. Whatever has served for the discovery of truth, has a character too sacred to be rashly thrown aside, or to be sacrificed to the fastidious taste of those who make truth welcome only when it wears a particular dress, and appears arrayed in the *costume* of antiquity. Admitting that imaginary expressions, when applied in the manner we have seen, do nothing more than trace an analogy between two curves related to one another like the circle and hyperbola, and therefore have no force beyond what belongs to analogical reasoning; yet, the simple fact, that the conclusions they have led to have been confirmed by the other less exceptionable modes of demonstration (often by the most rigorous synthesis), is reason sufficient for regarding them as valuable instruments for the discovery of truth. The anticipations they afford are of infinite value; and no man who knows the importance even of scientific conjecture, will willingly give up the advantage to be derived from them.

The conclusions of the investigations by help of imaginary expressions, have been so often verified by other methods, both analytical

lytical and synthetical, that no doubt can remain that they proceed on sound and geometric principles, though perhaps not easy to demonstrate with rigour in their utmost generality. The great generality of a proposition often renders the rigorous demonstration of it difficult; and though we can apply such demonstration when the proposition is broke down, as we may call it, into particular cases, we are yet unable to do so when it remains in its most general form. It is, nevertheless, of great importance to know what that form really consists of.

Though it is true that the investigations which have imaginary expressions for their instrument have been confirmed by other methods, yet the matter was in some instances so difficult, and the result obtained so complete, that the ordinary methods of verification could not be applied, and the method of impossible quantities, from its superior facility, was the only one that could be used with success. This has happened in two or three instances of integration given by Euler, where that great mathematician has performed what, one would have supposed, must greatly surpass the powers even of the most improved analysis. The method he employed depended on imaginary expressions, and he appears very much to regret that he had not been able to accomplish the same by any other means. Though it does not appear that Euler ever gave himself much trouble about settling the metaphysical principles of this part of the calculus, his practice was very conformable to the notion we have been endeavouring to enforce; he used the imaginary expressions as the readiest and most expeditious methods of investigation, and those by which great difficulties were most likely to be overcome; but he was always desirous of finding such verifications as are afforded by a more rigorous analysis. We may safely recommend a rule that directed the practice of this profound and experienced analyst.

ART. III. *Travels in Turkey, Italy, and Russia, during the Years 1803, 1804, 1805 & 1806. With an Account of some of the Greek Islands.* By Thomas Macgill. 2 vol. 8vo. pp. 522. London, Murray. Edinburgh, Constable & Co. 1808.

IN our account of Mr Semple's Travels (No. XXI.) we expressed very great satisfaction at receiving from the hand of a mercantile gentleman a sketch of those foreign countries scarcely accessible to any one else, which he had occasion to visit in the course of his professional pursuits; and we strongly recommended so good an example to the attention of others in similar circumstances.

stances. The author of the volumes before us belongs to the same class with Mr Semple, but his work is of very inferior interest and merit in every respect. Mr Macgill, indeed, seems rather to have published his travelling notes as an additional commercial speculation, or a winding up of his accounts, than to have described his tour because it was interesting, or the countries he saw because he had observed them attentively. We do not perceive that he kept any journal or took regular notes of what he saw. He wrote several letters to different friends, sometimes half a year after the anecdotes had occurred which he wished to relate; and, finding that the public would read any thing like travels, and every thing called letters, he seems to have considered the manufacture of two volumes as a fit termination to his trading voyage; which having resolved to do, he could have very little difficulty in obtaining the necessary passports of 'advice of friends to whose inspection they were submitted;' 'their opinion that they would be favourably received;' the consent of a bookseller; the assistance of a printer; and all the other encouragements requisite on the occasion. That of employing an author to write for him, we should think, he has omitted entirely; and, however much we may expose ourselves to contempt for so unfashionable a taste, we will own that the omission gives us satisfaction.

Notwithstanding the great inferiority of this work to Mr Semple's, and the slender qualifications, either for speculation or remark, which Mr Macgill appears to possess, we are far from regretting that he has made his letters public. They are by no means devoid of information, although the more important topics are slightly touched, and many things altogether passed over, which an inquisitive and learned reader must greatly desire to find in a work with this title. They contain a number of anecdotes which throw light on the Turkish character, and bring us better acquainted with the present state of their country. They likewise communicate some very useful notices respecting the trade of the Levant and Black Sea, which cannot fail of proving serviceable to mercantile people. It may be added, that the author knows a secret, far from being common with those who have no talent for fine writing,—to write plainly and unaffectedly; and while his letters, if not always very instructive and entertaining, are pretty uniformly sensible, and inoffensive both to our feelings and our taste, his modesty, both in ushering them into notice, and in describing what he has done and seen, cannot be passed over without much commendation. He may, by previously reading some books of general knowledge, and observing more carefully the next country he visits, present us with a more valuable account of it; and in the mean time, in spite of the remarks we

have now made, we prize his present contribution to the stock of public information, infinitely more highly than the feeble and garrulous quartos of the Stranger Knight, or the pompous inanities of William Hunter, Esq. We shall, therefore, follow him rapidly in his tour, and point out what may occur worthy of notice,—an office which we should scarcely be induced to perform towards Sir John Carr, were he to write a Stranger in Japan; or to Mr Hunter for all the letters he might indite, were his positions, like those of his former volumes, as true and as amusing as Cocker, and his language as glowing as Tom Thumb.

The first letters are from Venice, whither our author retired upon the breaking out of the present inexplicable war. His remarks on that singular place are rather of a gloomy cast. He seems to have found neither mirth nor amusement there; and, after a whole year's residence, was able to discern only indigence and misery. That there may be some truth in this picture, we cannot deny. The nobles certainly suffered greatly from the change of government; that is, from the overthrow of the most tyrannical aristocracy in the world; and the fortunes of some were probably impaired by contributions; but, in general, they sustained far more damage from the loss of those means of extortion which they had formerly enjoyed in secure monopoly. But how the city in general, how the bulk of the people, could have any reason to lament the revolution, we cannot conceive. A few of the chief aristocratic houses are ruined; many of those which survived have deserted Venice, and prefer living on the Terra Firma, where they may still domineer over their vassals, to continuing in the city which they can no longer either frighten or plunder. A few German soldiers parade the streets, with whiskers, and pipes in their mouths; and their officers disfigure the theatres, or insult the audience with talking, and making about a twentieth part as much noise as all ranks of men do in an English theatre during the finest passages. These, we believe, are the chief inconveniences which the people have to suffer in return for the abolition of the state prisons, and other engines of torture; the destruction of secret inquisitors and unknown accusers; the equalization of all taxes and public burdens; and the introduction of the best police known in the south of Europe. Mr Macgill exaggerates even the distresses of the nobility. He may be assured, that whoever told him that above a thousand heads of noble families were begging on the streets in the year 1804, greatly deceived him. A dissolute nobility, like the Venetian, is always sure to number among its ranks many persons too lazy to work, too poor to live idle, and not too proud to beg. These, in the best times of Venice, would thankfully accept of charity; but

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their numbers were not very considerably augmented by the revolution. He finds out, to be sure, the case of a Countess C., whose means of idleness and dissipation being destroyed by the change, reduced her to a necessity bitterly deplored by our author,—that of supporting herself and her family by her musical talents. By this statement, she appears to have been a less profligate and lazy personage than the common run of the nobles; but is it any thing so very rare, in this happy country, or, when it happens, do any of our nobility so very much bewail it, to see a reputable tradesman's wife and daughters reduced to support themselves by their needle, in consequence of a bankruptcy, owing most likely to one of those *just und necessary* wars which we are perpetually waging to quiet the senseless alarms of the higher classes of society about Jacobinism, and rank, and property, and French ambition? Nay, did any of these orders ever think twice about it, when they heard perhaps the story of some half-pay captain and his family living upon half the sum they pay their menial servants, after being mutilated in these disastrous wars? We confess, that we are not touched exclusively by the calamities which their follies and intrigues now and then bring upon a few of the privileged orders; and, far from lamenting the revolution which reduced several of them to beggary in Venice, and overthrew the tyranny of the whole body, we look upon it as an event highly beneficial to the mass of the state, and most cheaply purchased, by making the nobles share in some of the miseries which they had for ages been inflicting without remorse on those beneath them. Such, too, we conceive to be the sentiments of every reflecting person. To take Mr Macgill's view of the matter, and see only wretchedness to the whole people, in an event which happens to afflict the nobles, one must really be as blind as a mole, or as aristocratic as a city peer or a Whig patriot.

Our author's account of the natural beauties of this singular place, and his notices of its various works of art, are extremely meagre, considering his long residence there; and confirm us in the belief that he omitted to take any notes at the time, and that the whole description of his travels was an afterthought of himself or his bookseller. Perhaps our readers may feel disposed to doubt, whether Mr Macgill's taste is such as to make it matter of regret that he has left the interesting objects alluded to, almost without description, when we state his opinion touching the Rialto. It by no means equalled his expectations. Why? Because, though a large arch, it is so very low, and its effect is entirely concealed by the houses on the top of it! Wherefore, our author very judiciously recommends the substitution of *a cast-iron bridge!* and says, that the Rialto will bear no sort of comparison with our buildings

of that kind! We believe he is really the firſt man who ever objected to an arch, that it was long in the ſpan, and low in the ſpring—flatneſs being exactly the grand and difficult attainment in ſuch buildings—or who expected to find in the upper part of the Rialto the object of his wonder, inſtead of that unrivalled beauty of curvature in the arch, which all the buildings in the world, if crowded upon the road which runs over it, could not diſfigure, or in any reſpect interfere with. The following lines deſcribe one of the characteriſtics of Venice tolerably well.

'St Mark's tower is a high ſquare brick building, the aſcent to which is not by ſteps, but by a winding path. The proſpect from the top of this tower is extenſive, and the view of Venice which preſents itſelf is ſingular. You behold yourſelf ſurrounded by canals and bridges, and even ſtill may be ſeen many gay gondolas ſkimming along the ſurface of the water. You never ſaw a gondola: it is a barge of conſiderable length, and, from its peculiar conſtruction, ſits very ſteady in the water. It is painted black by order of government, and has on its prow a piece of flat iron, highly poliſhed, reſembling the neck of a horſe. The after part of the boat is ſeveral feet out of the water; and almoſt on the point of the ſtern ſtands the rower, who having from long practice acquired great dexterity, ſteers his gondola with one oar, with much exactneſs and velocity. I mention the one-oared gondola, becauſe I admire it the moſt, and think it by far more ſingular than any other. I never ſaw men ſtand and row ſo elegantly as the Venetian gondoliers. In the middle of the boat is a ſmall place covered with black velvet, which much reſembles a hearſe; in the front of this is a curtain; at each ſide a window with Venetian blinds; and on the part next the ſtern, is a cuſhion large enough for two people. Underneath each window is a ſtool, on a level with the cuſhion; ſo that the perſons within are placed in a reclining poſture. Theſe gondolas will turn a corner at full ſpeed, and it is very rarely that any accident happens to them. The rowers have certain expreſſions which they repeat to one another, in order to give warning of their approach, and which ſerve as a mutual direction which ſide of the canal they are to take.' I. p. 11—13.

From Venice Mr Macgill made an excurſion to Ancona, and, of courſe, went to ſee the famous Houſe of God at Loretto. He devoutly believes here, that Bonaparte, (being indeed the very root of all evil now-a-days), with his own hand, in open daylight, and in the midſt of the multitude, took off all the jewels from the Virgin's image, and collected them in his hat, which he gave an aid-de-camp to carry home; but affecting to ſee the image give an angry look, replaced them, with falſe ſtones of the ſame ſize and form, which he had prepared for the purpoſe,—an elaborate and clumſy method of plunder, exceedingly inconſiſtent with the ordinary tactics of this *parent of ill*,—of whom, alone,

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we ſeem reſolved to believe every thing that is contradictory and inconſiſtent, as if he could at once unite the extremes of cunning and of raſhneſs in his own perſon, and yet conſtantly ſucceed in what he attempts. Indeed, Mr Macgill has, three pages further on, taken good care to contradict his former ſtory; for he recounts that all the wealth of Loretto was carried off to Rome by the Pope ſome time before the French arrived; that the naked image alone was left ſtripped of its finery; and that, though Bonaparte carried this off in a paſſion at firſt, yet he afterwards ſent it back. There is nothing worthy of extract in our author's obſervations upon Ancona, except perhaps the following ſhort deſcription of an Italian horſe-race, which he holds up to the contempt of the *truly Britiſh* reader.

'The method of horſe-racing in Italy is ſingular. The horſes run without riders; and to urge them on, little balls with ſharp points in them are hung to their ſides, which, when the horſe is employed in the race, act like ſpurs. They have alſo pieces of tinfoil faſtened on their hinder parts, which, as the animals ruſh through the air, make a loud ruſtling noiſe, and frighten them forward. I was much amuſed with the horſe-races at Ancona. A gun is fired when they firſt ſtart, that preparations may be made to receive them at the farther end; when they have run half-way, another gun is fired; and a third when they arrive at the goal. To aſcertain, without diſpute, which wins the race, acroſs the winning-poſt a thread is ſtretched, dipped in red lead, which the victor breaking, it leaves a red mark on his cheſt, and this mark is deciſive. The firſt race was declared unfair, as one horſe had ſtarted before the reſt; and the governor ordered another to be run the following evening. To guard the courſe, a great number of Roman ſoldiers under arms were ranged on each ſide of it, from one end to the other. The morning after the firſt race, the wind blew from the north, and was rather cold. I was ſitting with his Excellency the governor, Signor Vidoni, when a meſſenger arrived from the general, with his compliments, requeſting that the race might be deferred till another day, as he thought the weather too cold to put his troops under arms. The governor replied to him, that, "as the weather was not too cold for the ladies, he thought it was not too much ſo for Roman ſoldiers." I have ſeen on a day which only threatened rain, a guard of Romans turn out, every one of which had an umbrella under his arm, the drummer and fifer alone excepted.' I. p. 22—24.

Soon after his return from this excurſion, Mr Macgill quitted Venice for the Levant. He firſt ſailed for Smyrna, and in the way ſtopped for ſome time at Scio, of which he gives a very favourable account. He was ſhown the place where Homer kept *his ſchool*, (for our author, though he is not quite poſitive that this is the ſpot, never entertains a doubt that Homer was a village pedagogue), and ſaw even ſome of the ſeats where it is ſaid the

ſcholars ſat—conſtruing and ſcanning the Iliad, we preſume. In the ſame claſſical neighbourhood, they celebrated the birth-day 'of the beſt of ſovereigns,' with due zeal and ſolemnity. They drank 'Homer's wine' to his health;—they ſung 'the Briton's hymn, God ſave the King;' and our author having taken with him, for the occaſion, a *pair of turtle doves* from Italy, ſet them at large on the royal ſalute being fired, 'that they might return to land, and proſecute their loves at liberty.' The Greeks, on their part, receiving ſome bottles of rum from our author, on this heart-inſpiring occaſion, broke forth in devotional exerciſes, in favour of our monarch, whom they prayed for to all their ſaints, under the appropriate appellation which they gave him, after their accurate Oriental manner, of '*The Favourite of God;*' a name happily expreſſive of the whole courſe and character of the moſt fortunate, glorious, and ſucceſsful reign, both abroad and at home, in America, as well as in Europe, of which the hiſtory of the world hath preſerved any record. A conſiderable abuſe then follows, judiciouſly directed, in honour of the ſame great occaſion, at the French conſul,—who ſtole an umbrella from the Engliſh conſul, and kept it after war broke out, on pretence that it had become prize—viewing it, we preſume, as a ſort of *Droit of Admiralty*. This perſon, it ſhould ſeem, is the only rival of our gracious monarch in the whole iſland of Scio, and was the only perſon who did not drink rum on his birth-day.

From Scio this Loyal North Briton proceeded to Smyrna, where he arrived without any miſadventure; and here, we meet with another ſchool of that eminent Greek tutor Homer, who appears indeed to have been the chief pedagogue of his day in the Levant, and ſeems to be taken by Mr Macgill for a perſon ſkilled in modern Greek and lingua Franca, and gaining his livelihood by teaching thoſe uſeful languages to the captains of traders in thoſe parts. The prevalence of ſome pretty general tradition reſpecting him, is, however, ſufficiently deſerving of our notice, that we ſhould give the following extract, premiſing, that in this, as in the former inſtance at Scio, Mr Macgill, though he may doubt the locality of the ſchoolhouſe, never, for a moment, queſtions the fact of the profeſſion of Homer being that of a ſchoolmaſter; and muſt, therefore, we ſhould infer, have been perſuaded at Naples, that Virgil was an eminent magician, however much he may have been diſpoſed to queſtion the preciſe miracles aſcribed to him.

'This city boaſts of having given birth to Homer. It is aſcertained, that at one time he had a ſchool here, the ſuppoſed ſite of which is to this day held in veneration, and ſhown to travellers as one of the curioſities of the place. This, however, can be nothing but a mere traditional chimera, as the city has been ſo frequently deſtroyed, and its ſituation ſo often changed ſince the period at which he lived. A garden

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is alſo ſhown near Smyrna, called the "Garden of Homer;" but, as there are many people of that name here, it is probable that this garden belonged to one of their anceſtors, who has been miſtaken by poſterity for the poet. On the banks of the river Melicè, about an hour's ride from the village of Bournabat, is a grotto, called "Homer's grotto," in which it is aſſerted he wrote his Iliad; and from its charming and retired ſituation, it is not impoſſible that he might make uſe of it as a retreat from ſociety, and from the ſcorching rays of an ardent ſun.' I. p. 71, 72.

The account which our author gives of Smyrna, where he reſided for a conſiderable length of time, is tolerably full and ſatisfactory. He repreſents it as inhabited by 150,000 perſons, of whom 70,000 only are Turks, 30,000 Greeks, and the reſt Armenians, Jews and Franks. The labouring claſſes and the handicraftſmen are in general from the iſlands of Scio and Tino; the ſhopkeepers are chiefly from the former iſland. All theſe iſlanders come to Smyrna to gain fortunes, with which they uniformly return home. The natives of the other iſlands are for the moſt part idle and ignorant, and are reduced to the neceſſity of following a ſeafaring life for ſubſiſtence. The governor, appointed by the Porte, pays ſmartly for his place, and repays himſelf, of courſe, by all manner of extortion upon the people committed to his care. He makes, in common years, of this plunder, only about 17,000 pounds Sterling; and we rather marvel that Mr Macgill, in the ſpirit of his remarks on Venice, does not lament the unfortunate condition of ſo noble and powerful a perſonage. Were any change, from French invaſion or otherwiſe, to happen in the Turkiſh empire, the lot of this great man would be ſtill more deplorable; and a future traveller might have to bewail the fate of his ſeventy wives reduced to beg, or ſupport themſelves by the labour of their fair hands. We are next preſented with ſome details reſpecting the commerce of Smyrna, which our author denominates 'very extenſive;' and to 'give ſome idea of its immenſity,' he mentions, what to our minds certainly conveys no ſuch notion, that there are ſeldom fewer than fifteen or eighteen veſſels loading in its roads for different countries. It ſeems that, in one year, ſixty veſſels from foreign ports have been known to enter inwards, beſides thoſe from the other Turkiſh ports; and in the ſame year, ninety-three veſſels cleared out for foreign ports; of which, twelve for London, forty-one for Trieſte, and eighteen for Marſeilles. Upon the ſame topic, a long appendix is added, particularizing the cargoes of the importing and exporting veſſels very minutely, and in a manner which cannot fail to be uſeful to mercantile men, eſpecially if coupled with ſome valuable notices given by our author in another part of his work, of the ſtate of the Smyrna and other markets of the Levant.

In this city, commercial affairs have assembled so many foreigners, and produced such profit to the bigotted and barbarous rulers of the land, that the severity of Turkish customs seems to have been greatly relaxed in favour of the strangers; and in reading the description which Mr Macgill gives of its society, we appear to be viewing some European town, where a Turk only intrudes as a casual visitor. In the suburbs, the scene is somewhat more Oriental; for there, a Christian cannot walk without insults; and the natives will be every now and then firing off their muskets at him, as if he were a dog or a mark, and rather take a delight in killing or winging the unlucky infidel. In like manner, when a party of Christians goes out to fish on the river, if they are not pretty well armed, the natives will let them fill their boats with fish, and then, in their unceremonious way, fall upon them and take all the produce of their day's sport, besides, perhaps, killing a few of the company. But if the sportsmen are well provided with arms, those followers of the Prophet will stop short, and salute them courteously with a *Salam*, or some other compliment. When a Turk hears the paddle of oars passing him in the dark on the river, it seems to be his instinct to fire in the direction of the noise, for the chance of its being an infidel traveller. In this way our author was frequently shot at, and had only the satisfaction of returning the fire as nearly as possible in the direction of the former shot.

Although the plague had not been known for five years previous to Mr Macgill's arrival at Smyrna, the Christians and other foreigners there lived in perpetual expectation of that terrible visitor; for whose inroads, however, they seem to have been very well prepared. The following passage gives us an accurate idea of their very judicious precautions, which, if generally practised, would in a few years root out that dreadful malady from the whole face of the earth. It is scarcely necessary to add, that the children of Allah never trouble themselves with any such thoughts, and view the infidels as eminently silly, or rather sinful, for their attempts to counteract it; resembling herein Dr Mosely, and the other worthy disciples of that very small school, which has of late been opened in London against the system of vaccination, with but moderate success; but which should properly be transplanted to the Turkish dominions, where a certain success awaits its enlightened labours.

'The precautions used against the plague by Christians are simple and effectual. Their houses, that is to say, the best houses in Frank-street, are for many reasons built like little fortresses, and in general extend from the street down to the water side. At each of them there is a strong gate, mostly of iron, to prevent their being set

set fire to, and within that one toward the street, at the distance of ten feet from it and each other, are two more formed of spars. When the pestilence rages violently, both the outer and inner gates are kept constantly locked, and the master, or some confidential person, has the keys. When any one rings at the gate, the door is opened by a cord, and the person is admitted to the first spar gate, through which he communicates the intention of his errand. If he brings provisions, within the middle gate stands a large tub of water, into which they are thrown from a little door, and are not taken out again until the outer gate is shut: if bread is brought, it must be hot, at which time it cannot communicate infection. Letters and other papers are conveyed on the end of a piece of wood or cane, with a slit in it, and are fumigated with nitre and brimstone. By these means, it is almost impossible that the plague should find entrance into the houses, where the inhabitants keep themselves closely confined till its rage is spent.

'The greatest danger is at the first breaking out of the disease, before they make use of any precautions; for they seldom think of shutting themselves up, until they hear of eight or nine accidents, as they are called, each day.

'In case of any member of a family being attacked by the plague, the person so seized is immediately carried to the hospital; the rest of the family sprinkle themselves with vinegar, and are fumigated. They generally leave the house they are in, and inhabit another for forty days.

'The hospitals are attended by people who have had the plague; but it is a mistaken idea, that, under these circumstances, they are secure from future infection. Padre Luigi, a humane friar, who has attended one of the hospitals for upwards of thirty years, says, that every time there is the plague in his hospital, his old sores open afresh, though with less virulence; but that a great number of the plague nurses die under as violent attacks of it as if it had seized them for the first time. This worthy father Luigi says further, that he never found any remedy so effectual as friction with oil, when applied in time, and carefully repeated: he has frequently witnessed its salutary effects.' I. p. 120—123.

It is a common popular belief in the Levant, that they never have the two plagues, of locusts and pestilence, at the same time; and Smyrna, which has for some years past been quite free from the latter, has constantly suffered from the ravages of the former. Against them the storks are the best defence; and Mr Macgill furnishes us with some curious particulars relative to that useful bird.

'The stork, which abounds in Turkey, destroys the locusts in great quantities. These birds are great favourites with the Mahometans. They build their nests in the roofs of their houses, or in high trees in the neighbourhood of their villages, where they remain quite tame, and free from molestation. They live upon vermin and reptiles,

reptiles, and destroy snakes innumerable. In shape and size they resemble a heron; the legs and the beak are red and very long; the body and neck pure white, and the wings jet black; notwithstanding this, they appear very ugly birds. They pay an annual visit to Turkey. They arrive in vast numbers about the middle of March, and always in the night. They arrange their progress very systematically. They send forward their scouts, who make their appearance a day or two before the grand army, and then return to give in their report; after which the whole body advances, and on its passage leaves, during the night, its detachments to garrison the different towns and villages on their way. Early in October, they take their departure in the same manner, so that no one can tell from whence they come, or whither they go. They are known in the night-time to leave all the villages, and have been seen in the air like immense clouds. They leave none behind but those who, from infirmity or accident, are unable to fly. A person who, at the season of their departure, was in the habit of coming from the interior, told me, that, on his journey the year preceding, he had seen thousands and hundreds of thousands of them near the banks of a river, and that they annually assemble there; and when the general sees that his whole army is collected, he at a given moment sets them in motion, leaving a detachment, no doubt, to bring up the stragglers.' I. p. 125—127.

After residing for a considerable time in Smyrna, our author set out by land for Constantinople. When he arrives there, he tells his correspondent rather archly, 'You will now expect that I should give you an account of Constantinople;' but he adds, that he means to do no such thing, but only to say, it looks better at a distance than when you come near it,—a very common case with most towns; and all the rest of his remarks are reserved for a future visit, which he makes after returning again to Smyrna. In the mean time, he makes divers other excursions from that city; and the one which he seems to think the most interesting, is to Ephesus, a journey of about a day and a half. On the way, in the morning of the second day, his feelings get the better of him, at seeing how amiably the Turks 'respect and venerate old age.' This virtue turns out, indeed, to be shown in the instance of an *old she-camel*, 'who was passing the evening of her days in plenty and tranquillity.'—'Here she lay basking in the sun's rays, beside a plenteous fountain, or browsing in the verdant shade, as *fancy* or appetite dictated, with the children of the village playing around her.' The once famous city of Ephesus is now one of the most wretched villages, even in the Turkish empire. The beautiful plains in which it stands are totally uncultivated; and the river, being allowed to choke itself up by the deposit of mud and sand, so frequently overflows its banks, that they are reduced to the state of perfect marshes.

marshes. The ancient port was about a mile distant from the present bed of the river. The temple of Diana covers with its ruins a great space of the Amphitheatre. Its huge pillars broken and scattered, numberless arches, pedestals, architraves, pieces of sculpture, are all that remain of it; but they give mighty indications of its former grandeur. The ruins of other magnificent buildings are likewise to be traced, particularly a vast palace and several mausoleums of white marble. We lament that Mr Macgill did not take the assistance of some artist, to preserve the delineations of these interesting remains. The only adventure of any consequence which occurred to our author on this expedition, was his visit to Osman Oglu, prince of the country, who was there on a shooting party. Mr Macgill joined him in one day's sport, and escaped being shot at, of which he run a constant risk, as there is no beating into the head of a Turk, that a Christian (*Pesavenk Yahour*, or infidel pimp, as they call him) is a human being, and merits the slightest consideration; the followers of Mahomet resembling, in this respect, our West Indians, in their conceptions of the value of negro life.

On his second arrival at Constantinople, Mr Macgill keeps his promise of describing it; but it is too well known, and he adds too little to the former accounts, to make it worth our while to abridge and extract any part of his narrative. But we shall present our readers with the account of an English ambassador's presentation, which is more minute than we have elsewhere seen, and we have reason to know is perfectly accurate.

'When we arrived, we found horses from the stud of the Sultan waiting to convey us to the seraglio. After some little ceremonies we again set forward for the Sublime Porte. Before entering it, we all alighted, and proceeded onward between the gates. The outer and inner ones were then shut, and information was sent to the Divan, that an infidel ambassador was without, who wished to throw himself at the feet of the Great Sultan. The place in which we were enclosed is that where criminals are decapitated, and where the heads of traitors are exposed for the satisfaction of the Sultan. After a short time the inner gate was thrown open, and an exhibition truly novel presented itself; a great number of dishes of pillau and cakes of bread were strewed on the ground at appropriate distances, which, at a signal given, a troop of Janizaries ran in, in the nimblest manner, and carried off. On inquiry, I found that this grotesque spectacle was intended to show to us infidels in what manner the Turkish troops are fed, and also how active they are.

'At length we were permitted to advance, and after crossing an exterior court of the seraglio, arrived at the entrance of the Divan, near the door of which were exposed on the ground the presents brought by the ambassador, in order to gain or secure the friendship

of

of the Turks; amongst these were several pieces of fine cloth, some of rich silk, a table clock, and many other articles.

'Here his Excellency presented his credentials to the Vizir, who by some gentlemen of the long robe sent them to the Sultan to know his pleasure. The interval between this and the arrival of the answer was employed by us in examining and admiring the magnificence of the apartment in which we were, and which was richly gilt and painted on the roof and columns. The floor was of variegated marble: around the room were sophas covered with costly stuff. In the middle of the side opposite the door, upon a cushion more elevated than the rest, sat the Vizir. Over his head we observed the little window covered by a thick grating, at which it is said the Sultan sits to hear what passes on occasions of this kind. It was evident to perceive through the grating that some person sat there, but conjecture alone could lead us to conclude that it was Selim.

'A gracious answer from the Sultan at length arrived, which was received with a shout of "Long live the King of Kings, Selim the Sultan of Sultans!" Here every one arose, even his Highness the Vizir slipt from his throne, and met the bearer half way to the door. The order was delivered into his hands. He first kissed it, then placed it to his forehead, kissed it again, and then, and not till then, presumed to break the seals. The order was to feed, wash, and clothe the infidels, and then admit them to his presence. In a short time, some little stools were arranged in different parts of the divan, on the top of which were placed large trays of gold and silver, about four feet diameter, and of a circular form, from which we were to be fed at the expense of the Turks. A most sumptuous entertainment was served up; first, a kind of blancmanger; next, different kinds of roasted and baked meats; sweetmeats followed, and to conclude, a delicious cooling sherbet was handed round in gold and silver basons.

'We experienced one grievous want at this feast, for we were not furnished either with knife or fork, and were obliged to tear in pieces whatever was set before us; for the articles of a liquid kind, spoons of tortoise-shell, studded with gold, were handed to us.

'The eating part of the farce being over, perfumed water was poured on the hands of his Excellency, and a napkin of rich embroidery was thrown to him to wipe them with; he was farther perfumed with aloes wood and ambergris.

'The usual ceremony of paying the Janizaries takes place in general after this part of the audience, but his Excellency had, I suppose, expressed himself sufficiently satisfied of the riches of the Sultan, and it was dispensed with.

'We were now marched to a kind of open room under the piazzas, where coffee was served, and where the infidels were clothed in a manner suitable to their making their appearance before the Sublime Sultan. This dress consisted of pelisses; that of his Excellency was lined with samour, worth no small sum; those for the secreta-

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fies were very good; the dragomen, who generally take care o themselves, having in some measure the arrangement of this part of the business, were served with a pelisse each, little inferior to that of the ambassador; the others were of trifling value.

'To the presence of the Sultan only fourteen can be admitted, and they must be unarmed; so here his Excellency, and those who wore swords, unbuckled. We now passed to the gate of the second court, where we encountered the first guard of eunuchs. This guard was composed of the ugliest monsters that ever wore the human form; their features were horrible, with the flesh depending from them; their faces were of the most deadly hue. Each infidel was now adorned with two eunuchs, who laid a paw on each shoulder, to signify when he was to bend before the King of Kings, and also to prevent outrage in his presence. In this manner we promenaded the second court, and were soon ushered into the august presence.

'The Sultan was sitting on a bed, for his throne has the appearance of a large four posted bed; indeed it is exactly that shape. The posts were inlaid with precious stones. The cushion on which Selim sat was composed of a massy embroidery of pearls; before him stood his boots, beside him lay his sword, and some turbans of state with rich aigrettes in them.

'Selim is a man of about forty-three years of age. His beard is become grisly, his countenance is attractive, the *tout ensemble* of his physiognomy benign. He never lifted his eyes, nor even gave a side glance. The ambassador made a polite speech to him, which the Prince Marwze, first dragoman at the Porte, translated to the Vizir, who repeated it to the Sultan. He made his reply in simple, kind, and elegant expressions. It was likewise spoken to the Vizir, who passed it to the Prince, who then repeated it to the British Company's dragoman, and he to the ambassador. Our audience being finished, we turned to depart, still in our humiliating condition, like criminals. The Sultan, just as we were leaving the room, desired the dragoman to inform his Excellency, that he had ordered him a horse, which he hoped would turn out a good one. His Excellency thanked him, and we departed. A strong guard of janizaries attended during the whole of the procession.' II. p. 3—11.

From Constantinople, Mr Macgill made an interesting voyage to the coasts of the Black Sea, and visited with great care the towns of Taganrock and Odessa. His account of both of these new communities, is highly useful and interesting in every point of view. His description of the latter, especially, is by much the best calculated of any we have seen to give us an idea of the rising importance of that place. Odessa had scarcely existed four years when he visited it in 1805, and yet contained a population of ten thousand persons. The houses are well built of freestone, and disposed according to a regular plan. There is a secure harbour for vessels of considerable burthen, and a mole or quay (a *key* as

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our author chuses to term it) extending half a werst (above a quarter of a mile) into the sea, of which the uses are likely to be incalculable. There are warehouses for depositing bonded goods, in case the market should prove unfavourable, well supplied markets, and two good theatres, besides other places of public amusement. The Polish nobles resort to this thriving town in great numbers, and render its society extremely gay. The merchants are chiefly Germans and Italians, though there are two English houses of respectability already established. One thousand ships have been loaded in the port in a single year, almost entirely with wheat; but we do not exactly comprehend Mr Macgill, when he says that they scarcely have any articles of importation. Among the natural disadvantages of Odessa, must be reckoned the bareness and want of wood in its immediate neighbourhood, and the dangerous navigation of the Black Sea from currents and want of sea-room. Much of the prosperity of the place is owing, by our author's account of the matter, to the wise and upright administration of the Duke de Richilieu, the tutelar or governor; an instance, we are afraid almost solitary, of a French emigrant nobleman having either thriven himself, or rendered his stay useful to the country which has given him a reception. We can scarcely conceive any thing more descriptive of want of comfort, than the account which Mr Macgill gives of the dust at Taganrock. It seems to surpass all the plagues of Egypt, and is an evil of a hot climate never before inserted in the catalogue.

'The streets are wide and unpaved. When it rains for only an hour, they become impassable. The soil is so fine, that the mud is immediately knee-deep in many places; and so clammy and slippery, that it is both disagreeable and dangerous to a foot passenger. You will think me capricious, but this I can assure you is not the case. When the rain ceases for a few hours, the streets still continue intolerable; the sun and wind quickly dry up the moisture, and raise a cloud of dust from the fine mould, which I have mentioned to you, and which is reduced to an impalpable powder by the feet of crowds of oxen and horses, that are passing every instant with produce from the country. The wind, which is generally strong, carries this dust into the air in such clouds, that I have actually seen the sun darkened by them for a considerable time, and at the breadth of a street have not been able for several minutes to distinguish a man from a horse. This dust is carried so far, that with the wind off the land, at three wersts distance, I have been almost choked with it. The first time I saw these clouds, I concluded that they were certainly the forerunners of an earthquake. I esteem this circumstance as one of the most unpleasant attending a residence here, and should have supposed it very pernicious to the health of the inhabitants;

tants; but they all look well and hardy; and a medical friend, who had received his education in Edinburgh, assured me that they were not afflicted with disease any more than other people. I observed, however, that the doctor, who, like myself, had no inclination to drink water impregnated with dust, always had it boiled with a little salt of tartar, which precipitated all the sediment. I found it impossible to keep out the dust: the houses were filled with it even when the windows were kept down; and although I wore thick pantaloons and boots, at night I found my skin perfectly black. This, in some measure, accounts for the dirtiness of the Russians in this quarter. I never saw a dirtier set of men; and upon mentioning it, I was told that they said, this was to be "in the English fashion." They were quite surprised to see me always the cleanest in the company.' I. p. 201—204.

Mr Macgill is one of those who regret that the Turkish character has suffered from the prejudices of Christians, and endeavour to rescue it in part from the effects of the common but erroneous estimate. We do not think him very successful in this part of his undertaking. His chief support is an appeal to abuses among Christian countries. If cruelty, for example, be imputed to the Mussulmans, or disregard of life of a fellow creature, or oppression towards inferiors, or even the public despotism of the government, we are told to look at the West India islands, where Christians commit a thousand enormities under the protection of the laws of civilized communities;—an argument which, if it proves any thing, only throws a great stain on those Christian countries, without in the smallest degree vindicating the Turks. We have remarked some other attempts in favour of the Ottomans, not much more successful.—For instance, it seems absurd enough to deny that they are of a jealous disposition, and to resolve all their jealousy into a religious principle, contending, as our author does, that it is only pointed at Christians, and not at *true believers*. In the first place, we do not believe the fact; and conceive that it stands contradicted by every thing which we know of Eastern manners and character from other sources. There is a jealousy shown towards Christians, no doubt, of a much higher nature; but it is so perfectly different, in every respect, from the sort of jealousy which commonly goes by that name, that we are surprised to find so acute a person as Mr Macgill confounding the two feelings together. A Christian is punished most unmercifully, generally with death, if he is found to have had connexion with a Mussulman woman, who suffers nearly the same fate. But it does not follow, because such indignation is excited by such a pollution, that therefore there is no jealousy in an individual when his haram is violated, whether by Mussulman or Christian. The Christian is punished by the public prejudices and religious observances for violating

violating a law of the ſtate, and without any reference to the individual rights which he encroaches upon. The Turkiſh huſband may ſtill be the moſt jealous of lovers or maſters in protecting his females from the approach of a ſpoiler, whether Chriſtian or Turkiſh. For the reſt, we think the notion of denying that the Turks are jealous, in the common acceptation of the term, is about as hopeleſs as the attempt of thoſe who, in their admiration of the Spaniſh character, vindicate it from the ſame imputation, by aſſerting, that it is the Ciceſbeo, or Cortejo, and not the huſband, who feels the green-eyed paſſion; thus converting an accuſation of jealouſy into the graver charge of jealouſy combined with cuckoldom and adultery. This is the error into which one of our very beſt modern travellers has unwarily fallen; we mean the well informed, accurate, and indefatigable Mr Townſend.

Some of the most interesting notices which Mr Macgill's book contains, are the facts scattered over it, relating to the improvement which, in spite of every obstacle, seems to be making some progress in the Turkish dominions. Selim III., the Sultan under whose reign our author visited Turkey, but who has since, unhappily, been deposed by the Janizaries, appears to have been a man of very uncommon views and talents, for a child of the seraglio. Aware that the despotism exercised by the Janizaries for ages, both over prince and people, was the chief cause of the feebleness of the government, Mustapha, the predecessor of Selim, took the wise and bold resolution of undermining their power, by forming an establishment of troops upon the European model; and, in pursuing this plan, Selim showed such vigour and perseverance, that, in 1805, the numbers of the new troops, or Nizami-Djedid, amounted to about sixty thousand, according to Mr Macgill's statement; which, however, we are disposed, on every account, to think a great exaggeration. Still it is certain, that a respectable force was embodied, armed and accoutred, after the European manner, quite unconnected with the Janizaries, and kept also separated from the body of the people, in barracks of their own, and encouraged, by every mark of favour, in their attachment to the Sultan. There was thus every appearance of a speedy period being put to the violent and anarchical tyranny of the Janizaries. Similar improvements were going on in the arsenals and dock-yards; so that some prospect of regaining their naval strength was now afforded to the Turks. The traffic in protections, carried on by foreign ministers to such an excess, that Russia alone was computed at one time to have protected 80,000 Turkish subjects, was totally abolished by Selim, after a struggle, in which his firmness appeared to great advantage. Under his care manufactures were beginning to flourish, especially

ly in the neighbourhood of the capital, where about 10,000 looms were at work in making the silk stuffs used by the Turks, and other cloths of an inferior quality. In Scutari, where Selim built a mole for the convenience of the shipping, and in other parts of the environs, immense quantities of India, British, and German cloths were printed and dyed in a very superior style. But a species of manufacture, wholly introduced by Selim III., and that in opposition to the most rooted prejudices and superstitions of the country, as well as in complete dereliction of the political maxims of the barbarous predecessors, was the printing-press which he established in Scutari. The building was on a pretty extensive scale; and ten presses were at work when Mr Macgill visited it. Subservient to it was a very fine paper manufactory, likewise established by Selim. Our author saw various books of geography in Turkish printed here; a translation of Cook's Voyages, Euclid's Elements, and others, besides maps and charts. It was this singular personage against whom the Janizaries and their mob raised a revolt about a year ago, alarmed at the progress of his improvements, so fatal to the system of abuse which supports them; and it is melancholy to reflect, that the British public, on account of the war with the Porte, which had a short time before broken out, rejoiced in this rebellion, and were full of expectations from the event to which it led—the deposition of Selim. The people of this country, it must be admitted, acted in this instance with the selfishness and narrowness which too generally marks their views of foreign nations. They never can think of any event but as it may *immediately* influence 'British objects.' They are distractedly fond of any foreign prince while he will fight against France, and ruin himself for English money; but, let him only be beaten into a love of peace, or pursue his own plain and obvious interests, according to the duty he owes his people, and all England resounds with wishes for his destruction—nay, with pretty loud hints that we may hope to see him carried off by some rebellion or intrigue,—a great deal too base ever to have been practised by ourselves, even in our greatest need. This, and our love of power, being the worst feature in the national character of the English, we always deem it our duty to comment upon it as often as the opportunity occurs; and, however unpleasant the task, (for what can be so ungrateful as to tell a whole nation the whole of its faults?) we think it necessary even to go out of our way, in order to stigmatize that meanness of spirit and narrowness of views, which have done more to dishonour England, and to frustrate her plans for the liberation of Europe, than all the victories of her enemies, and all the blunders of her allies.

ART. IV. *A Statistical and Historical Inquiry into the Progress and Magnitude of the Population of Ireland.* By Thomas Newenham, Esq.

A Short Address to the Most Reverend and Honourable William, Lord Primate of all Ireland, recommendatory of some Commutation or Modification of the Tithes of that Country. By the Reverend H. Dudley.

A Sketch of the State of Ireland, Past and Present.

IT has long been a matter of just complaint with the public, that, among the few persons whose situations and habits have led them to an intimate knowledge of the state of Ireland, and who are daily compelled to contemplate what *is*, and to contrast it with what *might* be, that there has hitherto been so little anxiety either to collect or to circulate correct information. The attention which the affairs of Ireland have, from particular causes, excited, since the last dissolution of Parliament, and the publications relating to them, which are now daily issuing from the press, will, we earnestly hope, in no great length of time, remove this cause of complaint; and, whatever views they may embrace, or in whatever garb they may be arrayed, we shall be disposed to hail them with satisfaction, as certainly conducing at least to one great object needful on this subject—*discussion*. The necessity, indeed, of making the British public more familiar with the state of Ireland, in all its relations, has been strikingly evinced by the allusions made to the opinions of the people, in the late debates on the Catholic petition. If it be really true, that the middling and lower ranks of society in this country are by no means prepared to consider the Irish Roman Catholics as fellow Christians worshipping the same God, and fellow subjects entitled to the same civil privileges; if they are really so bigoted as to wish to deny the benefits of the British constitution to above a fourth part of the population of the empire, and so ignorant as to imagine they can do it with safety, the evil admits of no other remedy than that of bringing the subject repeatedly before them —of familiarizing them to a more just and rational consideration of it—and of endeavouring to work into their minds the conviction, that, in holding such opinions, they are not only violating the genuine spirit of Christianity, but blindly endangering their own security, and risking the subjugation or dismemberment of the empire. As the denunciation of offences committed against the principles of an enlightened policy, is more peculiarly within our province than the violation of religious duties, it is to the former

former that we shall at present principally call the reader's attention.

Among the subjects peculiar to the state of Ireland, which have hitherto been comparatively but little noticed, is the extraordinary phenomenon of the very rapid increase of its population. While many of the countries of Europe have been slumbering on with a population nearly stationary, or, at most, increasing very slowly; while even the most prosperous (except the newly civilized country of Russia) have not approached towards doubling their numbers during the course of the last century, Ireland, in the same period, has more than quadrupled them.

The proofs of this position are brought forward by Mr Newenham in a manner which does credit to his industry and information; and we really think that the public is much indebted to him for the results of his labours. It appears that some unworthy efforts have at different times been made to *conceal* the full amount of the population of Ireland, and the rapidity of its increase. We can hardly imagine that our Government could at any time have been so weak, as directly to encourage such misrepresentations, or attempt to conceal the relative strength and importance of a particular part of the empire, for the purpose of blinding themselves and others to the dangers with which they are surrounded. It is more probable that misrepresentations of this kind should have proceeded, in the first instance, from the friends of Protestant ascendancy in Ireland, though they might afterwards be too readily adopted by the Government. But, however this may be, one of the principal motives which incited Mr Newenham to engage in these inquiries, seems to have been the fear, that even any official returns that might in future be published by authority, collected, as they probably would be, by the Protestant clergy, and revised by persons not unwilling to be deceived, might give a very incorrect statement of the real magnitude of the Catholic population in Ireland.

With the importance of knowing the whole truth on this subject, on whatever side it may lye, Mr Newenham seems fully impressed; and, in order to ascertain it as nearly as possible, he has collected all the *data* respecting the population of Ireland, at different periods, furnished by previous inquiries; has enlarged and extended them by his own personal researches, and those of his friends; and has strengthened the whole by a variety of collateral information, all bearing upon the main question.

The actual population in 1804, Mr Newenham estimates at 5,400,000. This result is obtained, by applying the present apparent rate of increase, which is stated to be such as would make the period of doubling forty-six years, to the acknowledged po-

pulation of 1791, deduced from the last returns for the hearth-tax. In this estimate, of course, much depends upon the correctness with which the rate of increase is determined; and though this part of the calculation is not made in a manner which bespeaks a familiar acquaintance with the technical parts of the science, yet we think it founded on sufficient evidence to justify our conviction, that it is not overrated. A still more rapid increase, indeed, seems to have taken place in all the districts of which particular surveys have been collected; and, wherever an opportunity has occurred of procuring any accurate information respecting the number of children produced by each marriage, the earliness of marriages, and the proportion of the population under puberty, the results, which are very curious and interesting, bear unequivocal testimony to a progress in population at least as quick as that which has been stated.

The average rate of increase throughout the country, can only be correctly determined by setting out from a correct estimate at first; and here, perhaps, the statement of Mr Newenham may be most open to objection. The estimate he adopts, as nearest the beginning of the century, and the most accurate that could be obtained, is that of Captain South in 1695, which makes the population at that time amount to 1,034,102; but as it was calculated from the assessments of a poll-tax, though it appears to have been done with considerable care, it is probable, or rather certain, that the usual evasions of such taxes have made it fall below the truth. And this seems to be in some degree corroborated by the result of an enumeration in 1731, from which the population appeared to amount to 2,010,221, which would imply an increase from 1695 considerably greater than the average rate of the century. This objection, however, is expressly noticed by Mr Newenham; and in answer to it he observes, that the omissions in 1695 were probably not greater than those of 1791, relative to which, the Inspector-general of hearth-money declared to him, that there was no truth of which he was more thoroughly convinced, than that the return should have comprised a much greater number of houses exempt from the hearth-tax than it did. Were this really the case, and the proportion of omissions the same, any supposed deficiency in the computation of 1695 would not, of course, affect the average rate of increase throughout the century; but, even allowing for some difference in these proportions, our general position, that the population of Ireland has quadrupled during the last century, cannot be on either side far from the truth.

The *causes* of this rapid increase, among a people groaning under a penal code of singular severity, and oppressed for three fourths

fourths of the period in a manner of which history does not furnish a second example, cannot fail of exciting our astonishment and curiosity. We are at a loss to reconcile such an instance to those causes of increase laid down by Hume and Smith,—'wise institutions,' and an 'increasing demand for labour.' Under circumstances apparently the most opposite, Ireland has increased with extraordinary rapidity; and this fact affords so striking an illustration of the doctrines which Mr Malthus has advanced in his late Essay on Population, that we are surprised that he did not enter into it more in detail. Nothing, however, that this author has said tends really to contradict these positions of our illustrious countrymen. It is still true that wise institutions, and an increasing demand for labour, are most powerful promoters of population; because, in all ordinary cases, they most effectually tend to produce the means for its support. But in any particular case, where such means could be produced and distributed without the aid of these advantages, population would still make a rapid progress under circumstances in other respects the most adverse.

The introduction of the POTATOE into Ireland, and its becoming the general food of the common people, seems to have formed this particular case; and to be the single cause which has produced the effects that excite our astonishment. At what period potatoes became the staple support of the Irish poor, it is difficult precisely to ascertain; but, whenever this event took place, it would necessarily occasion a most prodigious facility in the payment and production of labour. The way in which the means of subsistence practically regulate the increase of population in civilized societies, is, by limiting and determining the real wages of the labourer, or the number of persons which the labour of one man will support upon the staple food of the country. In England, at present, reckoning labour at ten shillings a week, the quartern loaf at a shilling, and allowing a half peck loaf a week to each individual, the earnings of a single man will support, on bread alone, five persons. With his weekly wages he will be able to purchase 43 pounds 7 ounces * of bread, his usual nourishment.

In Ireland, at the time that Mr Young made his tour, the average price of labour was 6½d., and the prime cost of potatoes to the cultivator 1½d. † the stone of 14 pounds. At these rates, the

* The half peck loaf weighs 8 lib. 11 oz.

† In estimating the effect of potatoes upon the population of Ireland, it is necessary to take them at their cost to the cultivator; because, according to Mr Newenham, four fifths of the people are supported on the produce of land cultivated by themselves. (p. 271.)

labourer would be able to procure, with his weekly earnings, 364 pounds of potatoes, and, allowing four pounds of potatoes to one of bread, 91 pounds of solid nourishment,—above double the quantity earned by the higher wages of the English labourer, and adequate to the weekly support of above double the number of persons. If either the wages of labour in England have been taken too low, or the price of bread too high for the general average; or, if a pound of bread contain more nourishment than four pounds of potatoes, * the difference of course will not be so great as here stated; but, at all events, it will be prodigious, and sufficient to account at once for the much more rapid increase of population in the one country than in the other.

According to Mr Young, four times the quantity of land is required in Ireland to yield the same nourishment in wheat as in potatoes. † In the cottar system, which is almost necessarily adopted in every agricultural country deficient in capital, this circumstance must afford incalculable advantages. The farmer would be able, by letting a very small proportion of his land, to provide that most important branch of capital, the wages of labour; and the facility with which labour could thus be paid, would naturally prompt him to procure it in abundance; more solicitous to have an ample supply in seasons of pressure, than fearful of not being able to keep all his cottars constantly employed. The latter consideration, indeed, would chiefly rest with the labourer himself. The farmer would at all events receive a fair price for his land, and would only deduct so much from the rent of it, as the number of days labour which he had required might amount to. It would depend upon the judgement

* Mr Newenham is of opinion, that three pounds of good mealy potatoes are more than an equivalent for one pound of bread; but, in allowing thirty-six pounds of potatoes for the daily consumption of a family of six persons (p. 340.), he does not seem to adhere to this estimate, unless indeed we suppose with Mr Young, that the Irishman has always a bellyful, and the Englishman not. We understand that, in England, a half peck loaf a week, or 8 lib. 11 oz. in seven days, is considered as a fair average allowance for each individual of those families that live almost wholly on bread; but we know, at the same time, that a young and healthy labourer will eat double the quantity. We believe that the Irish labourer in general lives more exclusively upon potatoes than the English labourer upon bread; and this is probably the chief reason why the allowance to an Irish family is greater in weight than the proportion of 4 to 1, though, as to the comparative nourishment of the two kinds of food, Mr Newenham's estimate is probably nearer the truth than ours.

† Tour in Ireland, vol. II. p. 120.

ment of the labourer to decide, whether the work of the farm on which he was settled, and the occasional employment which he might elsewhere obtain, would enable him to pay his rent, and procure the proper assistance for the cultivation of his potatoes? In this state of things, aided by the singular advantage, that in the cultivation of potatoes in Ireland, the attention of the cottar is directed to a small portion of good land, instead of a comparatively large portion of poor land, as in most other countries, great scope would naturally be given to the principle of increase; and the abundance of labour thus produced, would react upon the agriculture of the country, and force on a production of capital, and of funds for the maintenance of labour, in spite of every disadvantage of government.

The indolence of the Irish peasantry, which has been so frequently the subject of remark, has naturally been occasioned by this redundancy of labour, combined with the habit of working for the farmers, on whose lands they are settled at a fixed and under price. But, paradoxical as it may at first appear, it is probable, that this indolence, and the number of holidays that it prompts them to keep, has rather tended to improve, than to lower their condition, and has been one, among other causes, which has prevented the price of labour from falling, in proportion to the cheapness of the food on which it is supported.

But though it is certainly true that the Irish peasant has hitherto been able to command a greater quantity of the food to which he is accustomed, than the English labourer can of bread, yet it by no means follows that his general condition should be proportionably better. Something else besides food is required to make life comfortable; and the surplus potatoes of the Irishman, when converted into money, will have but a small power in purchasing other articles. Owing to the deficiency of manufacturing capital in Ireland, and the indolent habits of workmen in general, the conveniences of clothing, furniture, &c. are as dear as in England; while the pecuniary wages of the Irish labourer are not equal to half the earnings of the Englishman.* Hence arises the unsparing meal of potatoes noticed by Mr Young, at which the beggar, the pig, the dog, the cat, and the poultry, seem all equally welcome; while the cabin that affords shelter to all these vari-

* Mr Newenham says in a note, page 273, that labour is more than twice as high as in the year 1777; but, as far as we have been able to learn, the average is rather under than over 10d. There is a great difference in the prices both of potatoes and labour in the towns of Ireland, compared with the country, on account of the bulk and weight of potatoes, and the consequent expense of carriage.

ous inhabitants, is hardly ſuperior to an Engliſh pigſtye;—its furniture confined almoſt excluſively to the pot in which the potatoes are boiled; and the clothing of its human inmates as deficient in quantity as it is wretched in quality. Mr Young obſerves, that an Iriſhman and his wife are much more ſolicitous to feed than to clothe their children; but the fact is, that they have the power of doing the one, and not that of doing the other.

This kind of ſupport, though it might be ſufficient to give play to the ſtrong principle of increaſe among a people long oppreſſed and degraded, could never preſent very flattering proſpects of happineſs; and when joined to the occaſional difficulty of getting ſufficient employment to enable them to pay the rent of their potatoe grounds, would naturally prompt them to emigration. Ireland has, in conſequence, long been conſidered as the great *officina militum*, not only for England, but for other countries.

It has been calculated, though it is probably an exaggeration, that, from 1691 to 1745, 450,000 Iriſhmen periſhed in the ſervice of France; and, for fifty years of the laſt century, the annual emigration to America is eſtimated, by Mr Newenham, at 4000. During three years from 1771, of which there are accurate accounts, the average annual emigrations to America alone, were 9533. Additional encouragement would, of courſe, be given by theſe emigrations, to the habit of early marriages, the prevalence of which in Ireland Mr Newenham particularly notices: and though ſuch drains muſt neceſſarily prevent the poſſibility of a full development of the power of increaſe in the country where they take place; yet it is probable, that, in the actual ſtate of things, the population of Ireland was not diminiſhed by them; and that the remaining inhabitants were always as numerous as the progreſs of its reſources would enable it to employ and ſupport.

Theſe emigrations of different kinds were checked by the American war; but about the ſame time, the diſgraceful code under which the Catholics had been ſo long oppreſſed, began to be relaxed; and ſhortly after, under a leſs ſhackled trade, and a ſomewhat improved government, a new life was given to induſtry; and the rapid increaſe of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, found employment for a great increaſe of people at home. Theſe advantages, the effects of which are detailed at large by Mr Newenham, appear to have more than counterbalanced any diſadvantages which may be ſuppoſed to have ariſen from the increaſing dearneſs and ſcarcity of land: and, on the whole, there ſeems to be good reaſon to believe, that, in ſpite of the late rebellion, and the two years of ſcarcity, the progreſs of population ſince 1777 has been decidedly above the average rate of the century.

The conſequences of ſuch a rapid rate of increaſe deſerve our moſt

moſt ſerious attention. Either the increaſe will continue at its preſent rate, or it will not. If the rate continue, Ireland will contain *twenty millions* of people in the courſe of the preſent century; and we need not inſiſt upon the reſult. With ſuch a phyſical force, it is quite impoſſible that it ſhould remain united to Great Britain, without ſharing, in every reſpect, the full benefits of its conſtitution.

If the rate do not continue to the end of the century, which is certainly the more probable ſuppoſition, it will be intereſting to aſk ourſelves, what will be the principal cauſes of its retardation, and in what manner they will practically operate? The cauſe firſt generally felt, will be the dearneſs of land; and the advance of rent will continue, till the uſual quantity of land conſidered as neceſſary to ſupport a large family, cannot be obtained for the amount of the average earnings of a year's labour. Smaller portions will then be taken; but even theſe, in time, becoming ſcarce, and difficult to be procured, the cottar ſyſtem will be gradually deſtroyed, and give place to a ſet of labourers earning their pecuniary wages like the peaſantry of England, but ſtill living upon potatoes as their principal food. Theſe potatoes will then be raiſed by the farmers, and will become a principal object of cultivation for the market, as the great ſtaple food of the country.

The other, and ultimate cauſe of retardation, will be ſuch a riſe in the price of potatoes, compared with the price of labour, as will give the labourer no greater command over ſubſiſtence in the ſhape of potatoes, than he has at preſent over corn, in ſome of the ſtationary, or ſlowly-increaſing countries of Europe. When the Iriſh peaſant can only earn the maintenance of five, inſtead of ten perſons, the habit of early marriages will neceſſarily be checked; the rearing of families will be impeded; and the cabins will ceaſe to ſwarm, as they do at preſent, with overflowing broods of healthy children.

But before this laſt cauſe has produced an approach to a ſtationary population, Ireland will contain, in proportion to its ſize, a prodigious maſs of people. It is the firſt and only country that has yet fully taken to a ſpecies of food, which, at the moſt, requires only one third of the land neceſſary to yield the ſame nouriſhment in wheat. * Its effects, hitherto, have been truly aſtoniſhing;

* According to Mr Young, the average produce of the whole kingdom is 82 barrels per Irish acre, (Irish Tour, vol. ii p. 120.) each barrel weighing 20 ſtone. This, in pounds, amounts to 22,960, and divided by 4 to reduce it to the ſolid nouriſhment of wheat, will be 5740 pounds. The average produce of an Iriſh acre in wheat,

is

niſhing; and, in its future progreſs, it may be expected to produce proportionate reſults. We ſhould not wonder if Ireland were deſtined to become an inſtance of the greateſt denſity of population yet known in the world: and it has ſometimes ſtruck us as poſſible, that the prodigious phyſical force thus created in a particular country, might, like the ſtanding armies introduced into modern Europe by France, occaſion the adoption of the ſame ſyſtem in the neighbouring ſtates. We own that we do not contemplate ſuch a change as favourable to the happineſs of mankind. That ſo great an increaſe of human beings, if they could be well ſupported, would be highly deſirable, cannot admit of a doubt; but it ſeems ſcarcely poſſible that they ſhould be ſo ſupported; and we feel convinced, that if the lower claſſes of ſociety lived excluſively upon potatoes, they would not only have leſs power to purchaſe the conveniences and comforts of life, but would be much more expoſed to the preſſure of ſcarcity than they are at preſent. As long as potatoes can be kept to act only as ſubſidiaries to the main food of the country, they appear to be calculated to produce the higheſt benefits to the poor, as affording a moſt admirable and timely ſupply to thoſe who have larger families than uſual; and the beſt and cheapeſt reſource in ſeaſons of ſcarcity. Theſe advantages would be ſtill further extended in England, if cattle, pigs and poultry were more generally fed upon them; as the ſtore would then be greater in a deficiency of corn. In the actual ſtate of things, however, both in England and Scotland, the poor derive great benefit from them. But when once they ſhall have become the main food of the country, ſo as to be the principal regulator of the price of labour, the ſcene will be moſt decidedly changed. The never-failing bellyful to all the children of a family, noticed by Mr Young, as the circumſtance which muſt ever recommend potatoes, was procured, not by any quality neceſſarily and unalterably inherent in this kind of food, but by the rapid increaſe of the funds for the maintenance of labour in Ireland, at the time that he made his tour,—

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is 4 quarters, which, at 460 pounds the quarter, amounts to 1840, leſs than one third of the ſolid nouriſhment yielded by an acre of potatoes; independently of the important circumſtance, that the cultivation of wheat requires the intervention of more fallows or green crops, than that of potatoes. If we take Mr Newenham's eſtimate of three pounds of potatoes to one of bread, the produce of an acre of potatoes will be at once more than quadruple that of an acre of wheat. A certain weight of wheat will yield nearly the ſame weight of bread, on account of the water abſorbed in its compoſition, which about balances the loſs of the bran and coarſe parts,

tour,—by causes, in short, similar to those which secure to the American labourer, and all his children, a never-failing bellyful of bread. But, when these funds cease to advance with the same rapidity, which they necessarily must do in time, there is no reason why potatoes should not ultimately be as scarce, and as economically consumed, as the bread and cheese of the English labourer. And, under such circumstances, there can be no doubt, that the lot of the labouring poor would be worse, than if they had still continued to live upon bread corn.

But to return from this digression, which has led us further than we intended. Although it is quite certain that the population of Ireland cannot continue permanently to increase at its present rate, yet it is as certain that it will not *suddenly* come to a stop. Mr Newenham, assuming that it will go on for some time, at least, as it has done of late years, supposes that the country will contain 8,413,224 inhabitants in 1837; and enters into an elaborate calculation to show that it is fully capable of maintaining such a number. Knowing the uncertainty of all particular estimates of future population, we shall not give our sanction to the present, though it is certainly not impossible, nor even very improbable; and we feel confident, that a much greater population might in time be supported in that country if potatoes continue to be its staple food. But what we wish to notice at present is, that Mr Newenham stops short with 1837, the period of doubling from 1791, and, satisfied with having proved that Ireland will be able to maintain the numbers which he supposes it will then have, dismisses the subject without consideration of further consequences. It is quite clear, however, that if Ireland can only maintain the number which the present rate of increase will produce in 1837, such a number will *not* be found in it in so short a period. Both theory and experience uniformly instruct us, that a less abundant supply of food operates with a gradually increasing pressure for a very long time before its progress is stopt. It is difficult indeed to conceive a more tremendous shock to society, than the event of its coming at once to the limits of the means of subsistence, with all the habits of abundance and early marriages which accompany a rapidly increasing population. But, happily for mankind, this never is, nor ever can be the case. The event is provided for by the concurrent interests and feelings of individuals long before it arrives; and the gradual diminution of the real wages of the labouring classes of society, slowly, and almost insensibly, generates the habits necessary for an order of things in which the funds for the maintenance of labour are stationary.

We may be quite certain, therefore, that, without external violence,

violence, the period when the population of Ireland will become stationary is yet at a very considerable distance; that in the mean time it will continue increasing, with a movement sometimes quicker and sometimes slower, from varying circumstances, but, on the whole, gradually retarded; and that the causes of its retardation will be generally felt, and generate a change of habits long before the period in question arrives.

The two most obvious causes of this retardation have already been suggested, and they must be allowed to be of a nature to aggravate the discontents of a people not firmly attached to the government under which they live.

Mr Dudley, in his address to the Primate of Ireland on the subject of a commutation for tithes, has gone so far as to write the following strange sentence. 'Whatever the enemies of their country may advance for the purposes of delusion, relief from the harassing system of *tithes*, and the increasing pressure of *exorbitant rent*, is the real emancipation on which the hearts of the Irish people are principally fixed.' That every effort should be used to relieve the people from the pressure of tithes, we are most ready to allow. It is not the sum collected, but the mode of its collection, that is the grievance; and this grievance, on many accounts, produces infinitely worse consequences in Ireland than in England. Such an evil is the proper subject of legislative interference; and we earnestly hope, that no difficulties, however great they may at first appear, will be allowed to stand in the way of its removal. But that any man of common sense should talk as Mr Dudley does about *rents*, is quite inconceivable. A Legislature might, perhaps, fairly enough interfere to relieve a people from the pressure of rents paid in kind; but to prevent that natural rise of pecuniary rents, which takes place from the principles of free competition in the progress of wealth and population, would be tantamount to saying, either that land shall be for ever in the same plenty, however the population may increase, or that one part of the society shall always be extremely favoured, to the utter exclusion of other competitors, whatever may be their talents, industry, and farming skill.

The very general clamour that has lately been raised about high rents and middlemen, however natural it may be to the poor of Ireland, cannot be supported and propagated by persons in the higher classes of society, but from the most evil designs, or the most consummate ignorance. The middlemen who took long leases, when land was much cheaper than it is now, are undoubtedly making great profits; but if the leases were expired, the same, or nearly the same, profits would be made by the landlords. This system of letting lands, which formerly prevailed in Ireland,

Ireland, arose, almost necessarily, from the extreme poverty of the tenantry; and as soon as this cause is removed by the progress of improvement and the increase of capital, we may be certain, that the landlord will feel no disposition to divide his rents with another person. The effect of the middleman in raising rents has always, we conceive, been greatly exaggerated. Some difference will, of course, always prevail in the indulgence granted to tenantry from the personal character of the landlord, from his easy or distressed circumstances, or from the customs of particular countries. In all these respects, we are ready to allow that Ireland is not favourably circumstanced. But these are comparatively inefficient; and the main cause of high rent in Ireland, is, certainly, neither the extortion of the middleman nor of the landlord, but the small portion of land and capital necessary, upon the potatoe system, to support the labour employed in cultivation, and the large portion of the gross produce which consequently falls to the share of the landlord. In former times, when the population of Ireland was scanty, the great plenty of land naturally counterbalanced this cause; but the increasing demand arising from an increasing population could not fail of making its effects apparent. What is now taking place in Ireland with regard to rents, is merely an exemplification of an obvious principle in political economy, long ago laid down by Dr Smith, who expressly notices the very case before us; and, speaking of the great produce of potatoes, says, 'Should this root ever become, in any part of Europe, like rice in some rice countries, the common and favourite vegetable food of the people, so as to occupy the same proportion of the lands in tillage, which wheat and other sorts of grain for human food do at present, the same quantity of cultivated land would maintain a much greater number of people; and the labourers being generally fed with potatoes, a greater surplus would remain after replacing all the stock and maintaining all the labour employed in cultivation. A greater share of this surplus too would belong to the landlord. Population would increase, and *rents would rise* much beyond what they are at present.'* The situation of things here contemplated, is not as yet fully accomplished in Ireland, but a regular progress is making towards it; and as, in this progress, a continued rise of rents is in the natural and necessary order of things, to clamour against it is folly, —to interfere in it would be madness.

It is still less possible to interfere in the ultimate cause which practically regulates and limits the population of all civilized states, the real price of labour. As long as the Irish peasant can earn

* Wealth of Nations, Vol. I. p. 250.

earn the support of eight or ten persons, and his condition in other respects remains the same, it is not probable that the habit of early marriages, now so generally prevalent, will experience any material change; and if we could succeed in preventing the wages of labour from falling, we are reduced to the conclusion, that Ireland will be able to support a population increasing for ever at the rate which it does at present. But this is manifestly an absurdity; and any attempt to alter the natural results arising from an increased supply of labour compared with the funds which are to support it, would just be an attempt to reverse the laws of nature.

The distress, therefore, which may prevail among the labouring classes of Ireland, from these two causes, is evidently beyond the power of the Legislature *directly* to relieve. But still, it will be widely and sensibly felt. And the point to which we wish particularly to direct the reader's attention, is, that so long as any civil distinctions remain between the Protestants and the Catholics, so long, we may depend upon it, will the cruel and foolish refusal of complete emancipation be charged, not only with all the evils which really belong to it, but all the others which are confessedly irremediable. The really disaffected among the Irish, the real advocates for the separation of the two countries, must hail with delight the short-sighted policy of the British government, as it gives them a power of exciting the lower classes of the people far beyond what they could possibly obtain otherwise. The causes of distress to which we have particularly adverted, cannot be made intelligible to every poor peasant who suffers from their effects; but the Catholic poor readily see, that a marked line of distinction is drawn between them and the Protestants; they see that they are regarded with fear and suspicion, and do not partake the full benefits of the British constitution; and, with these obvious causes of depression before their eyes, it can require little art to direct all their discontents, from whatever source they may be derived, exclusively to the Government. In the peculiar circumstances of Ireland, with its poor labouring under the pressure of increasing rents and decreasing wages, what an incalculable advantage it would be to the British government to have no line of separation in civil rights capable of giving the colour of truth and justice to the most unfounded accusations! The mere pressure of poverty alone, though it has been felt with varied weight in every part of the world, has never, we believe, in a single instance, produced a general spirit of insurrection and rebellion against Government; but when other specific and removeable causes of complaint have existed at the same time, it has invariably added to them tenfold strength,

strength, and often been productive of the most tremendous effects. The distresses of the common people of Ireland will ever continue a weapon of mighty and increasing force in the hands of the political agitator, till it is wrested from him, or its point turned aside, by the complete abolition of all civil distinctions between the Protestant and Catholic subjects of the British empire. If to this consideration be added, that of the rapidly increasing physical force of the Irish Catholics, it seems scarcely possible to imagine a case in which the views of policy and security so imperiously dictate the same line of conduct as those of justice and humanity.

When all the arguments which at different times have been brought to bear upon this question are duly weighed, no thinking man can seriously be of opinion that the present system with regard to Ireland can be permanently adhered to. If a French army do not step in, and decide the matter at once, the increasing physical force of the Catholics cannot fail, ultimately, of effecting either a change in this system, or a separation of the two countries. We doubt, even, whether those who, with Lord Hawkesbury, profess to take their stand at the Union, feel really confident of being able to maintain the station they have chosen; and, notwithstanding a few bold declarations to the contrary, we think we see symptoms of fear and distrust among the most strenuous enemies of emancipation, as to the final success of their measures. * But if it be conceded, that a time may come when it will be absolutely necessary to alter these measures, the arguments for doing it immediately, and while it is yet in our power, receive such an accession of weight as absolutely to exclude all rational opposition.

Every year that elapses under the present system, tends to aggravate all the causes of discontent in Ireland, and to accumulate materials of insurrection and rebellion, which, however quiescent at present, are at all times liable to burst into a flame before our concessions are granted. Every year the proportion of the Catholics to the Protestants is rapidly augmenting,—a circumstance which might be contemplated without fear if they were once conciliated; but, till that time arrives, must be regarded with increasing apprehension, as daily diminishing the prospect of a cordial and permanent union between the two countries. *

Every

* In 1731, it appeared, from actual returns, that the proportion of Catholics to Protestants was two to one. It is now generally acknowledged to be four to one. This change of proportions was to be expected from the manner in which the population of Ireland increases; and from the same cause it may be expected to continue.

Every year fifty thousand youths rise to the military age in Ireland; and as comparatively few in the same time go off the stage, or become unfit for service, the military part of the population is receiving every year a great accession of strength. What additional number of British soldiers may be necessary every year to guard the increasing numbers of the Irish, we will not pretend accurately to calculate. But it cannot be denied, that, in the present state of the two countries, the increasing strength of Ireland is the increasing weakness of England; and that each passing year, while it adds both to the disposition and the power of Ireland to resist the wrongs she suffers, diminishes, in a still greater proportion, the power of England to enforce them. In this unequal race, if it continue much longer, England must necessarily be left behind: the danger is of a nature to admit of no delay; and unless this contest of vigour be exchanged, and that very shortly, for a contest of kindness and conciliation, she will inevitably have to rue her folly in the conquest or dismemberment of a fourth part of the empire, and the probable subjugation of the whole.

It is impossible ever to speak of the chance of foreign subjugation, and think, at the same time, of the peculiar situation of Ireland, without feeling the most bitter regret at that short-sighted policy which has made enemies of a gallant people, from whom, as friends, we might have received services of the most inestimable value. If England had been to choose a territory calculated to afford her the most effectual assistance, in this awful crisis of her fate, we doubt if she could have fixed upon any portion of land, of the same extent, so peculiarly suited to her wants as Ireland; with the single change, that the hearts of the people were with her, instead of against her. The manufacturing habits of England have, in some degree, been unfavourable to her warlike habits. Her agricultural population is comparatively small; and her artificers, accustomed to high wages, from the late unexampled prosperity of commerce, are unwilling to exchange their good food and warm workshops, for the coarse fare and damp lodging of a camp: and when they do exchange them, under the temptations of high bounties, or a temporary slackness of trade, they are not likely to make the best and most hardy soldiers. In all these particulars Ireland presents a contrast, which, for the object in view, is in the highest degree favourable. Her agricultural population is redundant, and rapidly increasing; the pecuniary wages of her labourers are lower than the pay of the British army, and offer almost irresistible temptations to enlist; and the habitations and food of her peasantry are such, as to make a British camp appear an abode of much

much superior comfort, and the fare of the common soldier a luxurious repast. Even the present peculiar causes of distress in Ireland, would be so many sources of strength to the armies of the empire; and the destruction of the cottar system, and the diminution of the wages of labour, would only circle the British standard with additional crowds of willing followers. The facility, indeed, which the peculiar state of Ireland gives to military levies, is so preeminent, that it breaks through all discouragements; and in the actual state of things, a very large proportion of Irish is to be found both in our army and navy. But if, even under the present system, in spite of the irritation they are taught to feel at the power which degrades them; in spite of their exclusion from military distinctions, the discouragement of their priests and friends, and the inconveniences to which they are subject in the performance of their religious duties, they still offer their services in considerable numbers; what would they do, if these causes of alienation were removed, and their hearts were really and cordially with us?

That the affections of the Irish might have been conciliated by wise and benignant councils;—that the golden opportunity, though every day receding, is not yet beyond our grasp, can scarcely admit of a doubt. Whatever might have been the hopes indulged by the visionary, at the commencement of the French revolution, the complete failure of that tremendous experiment must have blasted them; and the scenes which have been since passing in Europe, are such as to give every advantage in the comparison to the British constitution. It is impossible to imagine that the Irish Catholics could really prefer the arbitrary sway of Bonaparte, or any of his subject kings, to the government of the laws of England,—if they had once been allowed to feel the full benefit of their salutary influence. Irritation and resentment will, we know, often precipitate a people into measures the most contrary to their interests; but a deliberate choice of this kind is inconceivable. Every principle that is known to influence human conduct, seems to assure us, that if the Irish Catholics were raised from their present political degradation, and admitted to all the rights and privileges of British subjects; if the career of honours and distinctions of every kind were fully and fairly opened to them, and they were allowed to feel the same motives of love and veneration for the Government under which they live, as their Protestant brethren,—they would soon be found among the most loyal, willing, and powerful supporters of the Crown and the empire. Then would Ireland indeed be united to Great Britain; and they might then, like 'the Douglas and the Percy both together,' be 'confident against the world in arms.'

We have said, that some of the principal causes of the distresses

stresses of the Irish poor, and of their present discontents, are beyond the power of the Legislature *directly* to remove. In expressing ourselves in this manner, it will be observed, that we have advanced a qualified position; and we wish the reader to attend to the import of the term *directly*, as contradistinguished from *indirectly*; because it is really our opinion, that, *indirectly*, Government has great influence on the causes of distress here particularly alluded to. Universally it will be found, that political degradation is accompanied by excessive poverty; and that the opposite state of society is the most efficient cause of the general spread of comforts among the lower classes. We have little doubt, that the political degradation of the Irish poor powerfully contributed to make them adopt potatoes as their principal food; and in the curious question, whether, at a future distant period, the greater part of the population of Europe will be supported upon potatoes? much will depend upon the character of the governments in which the present convulsions may terminate. The establishment of an universal despotism, and the exclusion of the lower and middle classes of society from all share in the government, by annihilating in a great degree individual importance and dignity, would have a strong tendency to make the poor submit to the lowest and cheapest kind of sustenance; and it is quite certain, that if they once consent to produce an adequate supply of labour on the cheapest sort of food, they never will be able to obtain any thing better. On the other hand, if the present convulsions of the civilized world should leave behind them improved forms of government, it is probable, that the decent pride occasioned by a superior political condition, will make the lower classes of society look forward to something besides mere support, and not only prevent them from falling to potatoes, but raise the quality of their food above what it is at present. The causes which, independently of soil and climate, have actually determined the chief food of the common people in the different kingdoms of Europe, seem to have been their political state, and the periods of prosperity or adversity, with regard to the funds for the maintenance of labour, which they may have gone through. And when the character of the food has been determined in any particular country by these causes, though it continues always susceptible of change, yet it changes slowly and with difficulty, and a union of favourable circumstances is necessary to produce the effect. A country which, from a previous state of general depression, had been long in the habit of living upon the lowest kind of food, might pass through a period of considerable agricultural prosperity, and feel it chiefly in the rapid increase of population, and not in an improvement of the

the diet and comforts of the lower classes. On the other hand, a people which, from a course of favourable circumstances, had been in the habit of living upon the best wheaten bread, might, from checks to their agriculture or commerce, suffer long and severe want, before they would consent to change their diet; and the effect of such checks would be felt rather in the retardation of the population, than in the adoption of an inferior kind of food, or a different standard of comfort.

With regard to the population of Ireland, it is quite evident that it cannot continue permanently to increase as it does at present; but it can only be retarded, either by the operation of the two causes before mentioned, which will give the labourer a smaller command over the means of subsistence, or by such an elevation in the character and condition of the lower classes of society, as will make them look forwards to other comforts beside the mere support of their families upon potatoes. When we consider the actual situation of the poor in Ireland, notwithstanding such an increase in the funds for the maintenance of labour, as would, if they did not consist of the lowest kind of food, produce general prosperity, we cannot but contemplate with dismay the slackening of the increase of these funds, if aggravated poverty *alone* be left to effect the necessary retardation of the population. We must surely hope, that the cause last noticed will cooperate in producing this retardation, and, by the introduction of more prudential habits, alleviate the severe distress which will otherwise be unavoidable. But if we allow ourselves to indulge a hope of this kind, it is quite clear, that *the first step* towards its accomplishment must be the full and complete emancipation of the Catholics, as the radical cause of the present moral and political degradation of the mass of the Irish poor.

We are disposed to agree very nearly with the author of the *Sketch of the State of Ireland, Past and Present*, in what he calls the springs of his country's misfortune, which he thus enumerates. 1. The ignorance. 2. The poverty. 3. The political debasement of the inferior orders. 4. The Catholic code. 5. The provinciality of the government. But we by no means agree with him in the relative importance which he appears to attach to each, nor in the order in which he proposes to remove them. We should without hesitation say, of these five causes of Irish misery, that the Catholic code, and the provinciality of the government, had produced the political debasement of the inferior orders; and that this political debasement had been the chief instrument in producing the *peculiar* ignorance and poverty of the lower classes of the Irish. If this be true, and we conceive that it can scarcely admit of a doubt, nothing can be more absurd than what the

author of the *Sketch* aſſerts as his mature opinion, that without the removal of the other cauſes which he has named, Catholic emancipation would *not* tranquillize the country; but that they without it *would*. To begin with the ignorance and poverty, is manifeſtly to begin at the wrong end, and to labour in vain. However ardently we may wiſh to ſpread the advantages of education among the Iriſh poor, we cannot rationally expect the ſucceſs of any general ſyſtem of inſtruction, while the preſent civil and religious animoſities remain unallayed, by the continuance of the Catholic code. The poverty of the Iriſh, as we have before obſerved, is an evil, the direct removal of which is not in the power of the Legiſlature; and if it be true, as our author ſtates, that the competitors for land offer the whole value of the produce *minus* their daily potatoe, there is clearly no other remedy than the removal of that ſtate of moral and political degradation which makes them ſatisfied with ſo ſcanty a reſervation. The only poſſible relief, then, that can be applied to the poverty of Ireland, is the abolition of the Catholic code, and the improvement of the government. In looking to the third cauſe here ſtated of the misfortunes of Ireland, the political debaſement of the inferior orders, we are immediately directed to the ſame quarter for its removal; ſo that wherever we begin, or to whatever grievance we turn our eyes, the Catholic code, and the provinciality of the government, invariably preſent themſelves as the primary and radical cauſes of the miſchiefs we deplore; and without the removal of theſe cauſes, it is quite certain that no efforts of the Legiſlature can eſſentially relieve the misfortunes of Ireland, nor make it contribute to the ſtrength of the empire, in proportion to its magnitude, its fertility, and its population.

We have left ourſelves no room to notice further the '*Sketch of the State of Ireland.*' It contains a few juſt, and many ſtriking obſervations, and a deſcription and character certainly highly pictureſque and impreſſive, of the Iriſh peaſantry; but it is written in ſo antithetical and fantaſtic a ſtyle, and truth and conſiſtency are ſo frequently ſacrificed to brilliancy of language, or an affectation of candour and impartiality, that it poſſeſſes very little merit as a whole.

Though we diſapprove of ſome parts of Mr Dudley's pamphlet, we moſt certainly wiſh him ſucceſs in his main object. We are inclined, however, to think with the author of the *Sketch*, that a poundage upon rents would, on the whole, be a leſs difficult and objectionable commutation for tithes than the purchaſe of land.

Mr Newenham's work, we are diſpoſed to recommend for a quality which we always conſider as very valuable,—that of containing the beſt information to be found on an intereſting ſubject little

little known. His reaſonings and concluſions, it muſt be confeſſed, do not always ſhow a thorough acquaintance with the general principles of his ſubject; and with regard to facts, much is ſtill wanting to give us a full view of the ſtate of population in Ireland; but, conſidering the difficulty of getting information of this kind in the peculiar circumſtances of the country, we really think that the induſtry and exertions of Mr Newenham have been crowned with a fair portion of ſucceſs; and we owe him ſome apology for not having noticed his work before.

ART. V. *The History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade.* By T. Clarkſon, M. A. 2 vol. 8vo. pp. 1060. London. 1808.

THERE are works of ſo much moral worth, that it would imply a deadneſs of feeling in the critic, if, in reviewing them, he did not abate ſome part of his wonted attention to the minutiæ of ſtyle or arrangement. That which a deep ſenſe of the importance of his ſubject had withheld from the author's notice during the compoſition, ſhould gain only a ſubordinate degree of attention from the reader. Not unfrequently, indeed, the ſtyle itſelf will become more noble and affecting on the whole, in conſequence of this neglect of rhetorical accuracy. There are beauties of ſtyle, which, like night-violets ſend forth their odours, themſelves unnoticed; the traveller receives the gentle refreſhment as he hurries on, without knowing or aſking whence it proceeds.

In this claſs, we do think, that the preſent publication may be included, if any work might dare to advance ſuch claims. It contains the hiſtory of the riſe and progreſs of an evil the moſt pernicious, if only becauſe the moſt criminal, that ever degraded human nature. The hiſtory of a war of more than two centuries, waged by men againſt human nature; a war too carried on, not by ignorance and barbariſm againſt knowledge and civilization; not by half-famiſhed multitudes againſt a race bleſſed with all the arts of life, and ſoftened and effeminated by luxury; but, as ſome ſtrange nondeſcript in iniquity, waged by unprovoked ſtrength againſt uninjuring helpleſſneſs, and with all the powers which long periods of ſecurity and equal law had enabled the aſſailants to develop,—in order to make barbariſm more barbarous, and to add to the want of political freedom the moſt dreadful and debaſing perſonal ſuffering. Thus, all the effects and influences of freedom were employed to enſlave; the gifts of knowledge to prevent the poſſibility of illumination; and powers, which could not have exiſted but in conſequence of morality and religion, to perpetuate

the ſenſual vices, and to ward off the emancipating blow of Chriſtianity; and, as if this were not enough, poſitive laws were added by the beſt and freeſt nation of Chriſtendom, and powers entruſted to the baſeſt part of its population, for purpoſes which would almoſt neceſſarily make the beſt men become the worſt.

Nor are the effects of this ſtrange war leſs marvellous than its nature. It is a war in which the victors fall lower than the vanquiſhed; in which the oppreſſors are more truly objects of pity than the oppreſſed; while, to the nation which had moſt extenſively purſued and moſt ſolemnly authorized it, it was an eating ulcer into the very vitals of its main reſources as to defence, and a ſlow poiſon acting on that conſtitution which was the offſpring, and has continued to be the protector, of its freedom and proſperity. In ſhort, the preſent work is the hiſtory of one great calamity,—one long continuous crime, involving every poſſible definition of evil: for it combined the wildeſt phyſical ſuffering with the moſt atrocious moral depravity.

Were theſe the whole contents of this work, it would command the conſcientious attention of every good man: for we muſt know, abhor, and pity the evil, before we can have light to guide, or vital warmth to propel us towards its removal. But this is not all. It is the hiſtory of its removal;—of the means employed, of the patience exerted, of the fears and prudential ſophiſtries which inceſſantly tempted virtuous hope to deſpondency, and of the glorious ſucceſs which at length rewarded its perſeverance. Finally, this intereſting tale is related, not by a deſcendant, but a contemporary; not by a diſtant ſpectator, but by a participator of the conteſt; and, of all the many participators, by the man confeſſedly the moſt efficient; the man whoſe unparalleled labours in this work of love and peril, leave on the mind of a reflecting reader the ſublime doubt, which of the two will have been the greater final gain to the moral world,—the removal of the evil, or the proof thereby given what mighty effects ſingle good men may realize by ſelf-devotion and perſeverance.

To thoſe who have not conſidered the nature of the ſlave trade in its detail, or examined the evidences which were acted upon by the late Legiſlature of Great Britain, our expreſſions may appear forced and extravagant. But if the peruſal of this work, together with the evidences adduced before the Committee of the Houſe of Commons, and the earlier maſterly pamphlet of our author, 'on the Impolicy of the Slave Trade,' do not furniſh them with facts giving full and appropriate meaning to each word of each ſentence we have uſed, we muſt either ſuppoſe obſtinate prejudices, or appear to ourſelves to wander in a world of enigma.

Aftre

After a few pages of general introduction, which might perhaps have been omitted with advantage, the author commences his hiſtory by an eloquent and dramatic repreſentation of the evils belonging to the ſlave trade, with reſpect to the Africans, in its three principal ſtages. Firſt, on the continent of Africa; ſecondly, in the middle paſſage; thirdly, in the Weſt Indies and the adjoining colonies. This is followed by a well reaſoned and affecting counterpart of the evil, in the grievous effects of this trade on thoſe who are employed in carrying it on. Firſt, on the maſters and men of the ſlave ſhips; next, on the factors and thoſe employed in purchaſing or ſeizing the unhappy victims; and, laſtly, on the planters and owners of ſlaves, and on the countries in general in which ſlavery is eſtabliſhed. We have, indeed, always been of opinion, that too little ſtreſs has been laid on *this* part of the ſubject. The ſufferings of the Africans were calculated, no doubt, to make a more rapid and violent impreſſion on the imaginations and bodily ſympathies of men; but the dreadful depravity that of neceſſity was produced by it on the immediate agents of the injuſtice; the almoſt univerſal corruption of manners which at the preſent day ſtartles reflecting travellers on paſſing from the Northern States of America into thoſe in which ſlavery obtains; and the further influence of ſuch corruption on the morals of countries that are in habits of conſtant commercial intercourſe, and who ſpeak the ſame language; theſe, though not ſuſceptible of colours equally glaring, do yet form a more extenſive evil,—an evil more certain, and of a more meaſurable kind. Theſe are evil in the form of guilt; evil in its moſt abſolute and moſt appropriate ſenſe; that ſenſe to which the ſublimeſt teachers of moral wiſdom, Plato, Zeno, Leibnitz, have confined the appellation; and which, therefore, on a well diſciplined ſpirit, will make an impreſſion deeper than could have been left by mere agony of body, or even anguiſh of mind; in proportion as vice is more hateful than pain, eternity more awful than time. To this may be added, the fatal effects on national morals, from the public admiſſion of principles *profeſſedly* incompatible with juſtice, and from the implied diſavowal of any obligation paramount to that of immediate expediency, compared with which even ſtate-hypocriſy may not have been without its good effects. Thoſe who eſtimate all meaſures, inſtitutions and events, excluſively by their palpable and immediate effects, are little qualified to trace, and leſs inclined to believe, the ceaſeleſs agency of thoſe ſubtler cauſes to which the philoſopher attributes the deterioration of national character. Yet hiſtory will vouch for us, if we affirm, that no government ever avowedly acted on immoral principles (as, for inſtance, the Pruſſian, ſince the acceſſion of their Frederic *the unique*, as the Germans ſtyle him,

the court of France from the administration of Richelieu), without inducing a proportional degradation in the virtue and dignity of the individuals who form the mass of the nation.

Consistently with this conviction, our author, though least of all men insensible of the meritorious efforts of legislators acting in their legislative capacity, yet commences and concludes his history in one and the same spirit, every where aiming to establish the dignity and importance of individual minds, as the ultimate causes of moral phenomena, good or evil. Hence his conscientious anxiety to trace, from the earliest times, those who, by bearing public testimony concerning the iniquity of this trade, had produced that state of knowledge and feeling throughout society, which was an indispensable condition of legislative interference for its removal. Hence, too, his amiable and cheerful faith, that all is safe, that all is virtually *effected* (τέτυκται, as Medea says in Euripides), when the good and intelligent part of the community have united in the same conviction. This is, indeed, the more amiable, since, great as was the effect of his own 'Essay on the Impolicy of the Slave Trade;' yet, his indefatigable personal labours form the more prominent and unusual characteristic of his fame. His writings, as well as the evidences adduced to the Legislature, and the facts so eloquently managed by the great parliamentary advocates for the abolition, were but the results of those, perhaps unexampled, personal exertions.

It is a peculiar advantage of this subject, that the history of the abolition of the slave trade involves the history of the trade itself; as the manifestation of its rise and progress, by the detail of attested facts, and by the arguments deduced from them, furnished the sole weapons with which the friends of human nature could carry on their contest, or hope for final success. The history of the evil, therefore, and the history of its removal, though in themselves perfectly distinct, are not only compatible with the strictest unity of plan, but necessarily lead to it. And well may we deem both the one and the other awfully impressive: for the victory can scarcely prove more beneficent than the combat was arduous, the struggle obstinate.

This difficulty our author has stated with equal conciseness and energy.

'Many evils,' says he, 'of a public nature, which existed in former times, were the offspring of ignorance and superstition, and they were subdued, of course, by the progress of light and knowledge. But the evil in question began in avarice. It was nursed also by worldly interest. It did not, therefore, so easily yield to the usual correctives of disorders in the world. We may observe also, that the interest by which it was thus supported, was not that of a few individuals, nor of one body, but of many bodies of men. It was interwoven

interwoven again into the system of the commerce and of the revenue of nations. Hence the merchant—the planter—the mortgagee—the manufacturer—the politician—the legislator—the cabinet-minister—lifted up their voices against the annihilation of it.'

This trade seems to have begun as early as the year 1503, when a few slaves were sent from the Portuguese settlements in Africa into the Spanish colonies in America. In 1511, it was greatly enlarged by Ferdinand the Fifth of Spain; and the benevolent Bartholomew de las Casas, blinded by anguish of compassion for the poor American Indians, proposed to the government of Spain, then administered by Cardinal Ximenes, during the minority of Charles the Fifth, the establishment of a regular commerce in the persons of the native Africans. 'The Cardinal, however, (says our author), with a foresight, a benevolence, and a justice, which will always do honour to his memory, rejected the proposal; not only judging it to be unlawful to consign innocent people to slavery at all, but to be very inconsistent to deliver the inhabitants of one country from a state of misery by consigning it to those of another. Ximenes, therefore, may be considered as one of the first great friends of the Africans, after the partial beginning of the trade.'

It is no less pleasant to consider, that in the two nations to which the larger portion of this commerce belong, it was first introduced by a base imposition on the government. Louis the Thirteenth was duped by assurances, that the main object of the adventurers was to facilitate the conversion of the poor Africans to Christianity: and our Elizabeth, suspecting the truth of the fine tales told to her of the redemption of poor victims from cruel deaths, and their eagerness to emigrate to happier lands, 'expressed her concern lest any of the Africans should be carried off *without their free consent*, declaring that it would be *detestable*, and call down the vengeance of heaven upon the undertakers.'

Thus our author proceeds to prove, that from the very commencement of the trade to the first combination for its abolition,—from the truly great Cardinal Ximenes to the illustrious ministers Pitt and Fox, there were never wanting voices to declare its iniquity: that the best and most active good men, in the most different sects of religious or political opinion, had united their suffrages and efforts against this affrightful piracy, impudently entitled commerce, whenever they were made acquainted with its real state. To the testimonies of these men, aided by the spread of moral knowledge, the extension of education, and the general increase of readers, our author has justly ascribed that state of the public mind, which has so eminently favoured and supported the good cause; and which, but for the delays occasioned by its unblushing but too powerful antagonists, must (as the facts contained in the

the two last chapters of the first volume clearly prove) have succeeded in storming and demolishing this fabric of iniquity at the first attack. These names, whether of statesmen or of authors, form our author's first class, viz. that of the individuals who, by enlightening the public mind, and kindling the public feelings, produced as it were the materials, which the associate bodies, constituting a second class, were enabled to employ and organize. From the catalogue of honoured names in the first class, we must select, as deserving of especial reverence, those of George Fox, the founder of the Society of the Friends, and John Woolman, a Quaker of unsectarian benevolence, and of principles *truly* evangelical.

The second class consists almost wholly of the Quakers in two divisions,—the former division comprizing the efforts of the whole as a religious body, the latter the efforts of those individual Quakers, who were the first, and ever remained among the most active members of a committee for the abolition of the slave trade. In the year 1727, and still more strongly in the year 1758, the Quakers, at their yearly meeting, and in their collective character, fervently warned all their members to avoid being any way concerned in this unrighteous commerce. In the yearly meeting of 1761, they proceeded to exclude from membership such as should be found directly concerned in this practice: and, in 1763, declared it to be criminal to aid and abet the trade in any manner, directly or indirectly. From this time there appears to have been an increasing zeal on this subject among the Friends, so as to impel the Society to step out of its ordinary course in behalf of their injured fellow-men. Accordingly, in the month of June 1783, the Friends collectively petitioned the House of Commons against the continuance of this traffic; and afterwards, both collectively and individually, exerted themselves by the press, by private correspondence, and by personal journies, to enlighten the minds of men concerning it, especially those of the rising generation. Indeed, by the frequent intercommunion of the Missionary Quakers from England to America, and America to England, the Quakers had earlier and greater opportunities, than any other body of men in Great Britain, of becoming acquainted with its horrors; while, from their religious principles, they were likely to be the first in becoming uneasy under the sense of its injustice. Three or four years prior to the establishment of that public committee, to whose persevering efforts we undoubtedly owe the abolition of the slave trade, six Quakers had been in the habit of meeting privately, for the purpose of exposing and discouraging it by all legal means. For this purpose, they had secured a place in two London, and in many provincial papers, for such essays as they deemed

deemed most likely to influence the minds of unprejudiced readers in favour of the object of their institution. In 1787, Mr Clarkson, whose attention had been turned to the subject, as he ingenuously relates, in the first instance, wholly by academic ambition, there having been given out, as the theme of the Bachelor's Prize, in the University of Cambridge, '*Anne liceat invitos in servitutem dare?*' discovered the existence of this small but benevolent institution, and, joining himself with it, raised upon it the superstructure of the great public committee, which appeared afterwards.

The public efforts of Mr Wilberforce, the sincere zeal and splendid eloquence of Mr Fox, and of other Senators in both Houses, are so universally known and so properly estimated, that we shall content ourselves with observing, that the specimens of eloquence which are here given, were taken down with uncommon care, and will surprize and delight such readers as have taken their ideas of Pitt, Fox, and Wilberforce, as orators, exclusively from newspaper reports. We refer, with especial admiration, to the second speech of Mr Wilberforce, on the 18th of April 1791, after the accumulation of evidence had rendered him perfectly master of the subject, vol. II. p. 212 to 255; to Mr William Smith's, 281 to 299; to Mr Pitt's, 304 to 317; to Mr Fox's, 318 to 333; but, above all, to the admirable reply of this truly great man to the speeches of the then Messrs Addington and Dundas in favour of moderate measures, 407 to 415. It is among the happiest productions of a rapid and vigorous intellect, called into action suddenly by the warmth of an honest and noble heart. The feeling seems all intellect,—the intellect all feeling. Never surely was the project of a medium between truth and falsehood, justice and injustice, rendered more completely ridiculous; nor the paltry wisdom of a narrow self-interest so withered and blasted by the lightnings of genius and virtue.

Without confining ourselves to our author's more complex classification, we have alluded to three of the four classes into which the abolitionists of the slave trade may be divided. The first, that of the individuals who, by writings or public declarations, had prepared the minds of their countrymen for the abolition: the second, that of associate bodies, namely, the Quakers in their collective capacity, and the committee who, during so many years, pursued this great object with such indefatigable energy: the third, that of the illustrious members of the Legislature, who arranged themselves under Mr Wilberforce, and pre-eminently that great and good man, among whose deathbed consolations the certainty of the complete abolition of the trade, as the result of his own short ministry, was (of all external events) the

the chief and most soothing. The merits of the last class, indeed, are already well known to the public; and the details, both of it and of the two former, are ably and perspicuously given in their several places in these interesting volumes. We shall pay, therefore, a more minute attention to the fourth class, namely, that of the individuals, whose personal toils and unwearied efforts, were not only highly conducive to the ultimate event, but were an indispensable condition of it. And this we feel especially a duty, because, from motives of delicacy, one of the most meritorious has been prevented from stating his own services as clearly and prominently as for the benefit of mankind they ought to have been stated. The gratitude which we feel to the illustrious benefactors of our race, ennobles our own hearts: it is a debt, the payment of which enriches the mind which discharges it. We participate of the goodness and greatness which we learn habitually to love and admire.

At the head of this list unquestionably stands the name of Mr Wilberforce—a name already sanctified and immortalized in the memories of all good men, and to which, in any quarter of the world, it would be impertinent to annex any eulogium. He it was who first brought the evil to light, and ceased not until he pursued it to justice. He it was, who, for twenty long years, watched day and night over the sacred flame which his eloquence had kindled, and cherished and kept it alive when, chilled by an atmosphere of false policy, and blown upon by the breath of corruption, it sickened, and almost ceased to glow; nay, when the broader glare of other fires drew away from it the eyes of all men, he kept it steadily in view, and sent it forth at last to consume the scourges and fetters of oppression, and to purify and enlighten a benighted world. Mr Wilberforce indubitably has been the great captain of the abolitionists; and without his courage, and skill, and unwearied perseverance, their cause must long since have been lost and abandoned.

Next to him, we think it a duty to mention the name of Mr Granville Sharp, the cause and occasion of whose exertions in this great work, are related with much feeling and simplicity, vol. I. pp. 63 to 79. Regardless of the dangers to which he exposed himself, both in his person and his fortune, Mr Sharp stood forward in every case as the courageous friend of the poor Africans in England, in direct opposition to an opinion of York and Talbot, the Attorney and Solicitor-General for the time being. This opinion had been acted upon; and so high was its authority, that, after it had been made public, it was held as the settled law of the land, that a slave, neither by baptism, or arrival in Great Britain or Ireland, acquires free-

dom,

dom, but may be legally forced back to the plantations. Discouraged by Judge Blackstone, and several other eminent lawyers, Mr Sharp devoted three years of his life to the study of the English law, that he might render himself the more effectual advocate of these friendless strangers. In his work, entitled, 'A Representation of the Injustice and dangerous Tendency of tolerating Slavery in England,' published in the year 1769, and afterwards, in his learned and laborious 'Inquiry into the Principles of Villenage,' he refuted the opinion of York and Talbot by unanswerable arguments, and neutralized their authority by the counter-opinion of the great Lord Chief-Justice Holt, who many years before had decided, that as force could be used against no man in England without a legal process, every slave coming into England became free, inasmuch as the laws of England recognized the distinction between person and property as perpetual and sacred. Finally, in the great case of Somerset, which was argued at three different sittings in January, in February, and in May of the year 1772, (the opinion of the Judges having been taken upon the pleadings), it was at last ascertained and declared to be the law of the land, that as soon as ever any slave set his foot upon English territory, he became free. Among the heroes and sages of British story, we can think of few whom we should feel a greater glow of honest pride in claiming as an ancestor, than the man to whom we owe our power of repeating with truth—

> 'Slaves cannot breathe in England; if their lungs
> Receive our air, that moment they are free;
> They touch our country, and their shackles fall.
> Oh! this is noble!'

Solicitous, even to anxiety, as our author shows himself in developing and holding forth the merits of all his individual coadjutors, he appears, with the exception of Mr Wilberforce, to dwell with peculiar pleasure and warmth of sympathy on the character and labours of Mr Sharp.

The last person, on whose merits we think it necessary to dwell individually, is the author of the volumes before us. The account which he gives of the rise and progress of his enthusiasm in this cause, is very curious and interesting. To some it may appear to be tinctured with superstition, or to trespass beyond the limits of sober philanthropy; but to those who know the magnitude of the evil, and who think of the greatness of the redress which has at last been obtained, the simplicity and sensibility of heart which Mr Clarkson here displays, must be objects of veneration and of envy. The details of his progress have raised our opinion of human nature; and the account even of his inward feelings and

and emotions becomes highly interesting, when we recollect to what noble exertions and heroic sacrifices they afterwards conducted him. After stating, with the most ingenuous simplicity, that he was led to consider the subject, in the first instance, solely by the desire of university-reputation, and having particularized his first sources of information, chiefly consisting of manuscript papers of a deceased friend, who had been in the trade, and of a work, known to him by the accident of a newspaper advertisement, 'Anthony Benezet's Historical Account of Guinea,' proceeds thus—

'Furniſhed, then, in this manner, I began my work; but no perſon can tell the ſevere trial which the writing of it proved to me. I had expected pleaſure from the invention of the arguments, from the arrangement of them, from the putting of them together, and from the thought in the interim that I was engaged in an innocent conteſt for literary honour. But all my pleaſure was damped by the facts which were now continually before me. It was but one gloomy ſubject from morning till night. In the day-time I was uneaſy: In the night I had little reſt: I ſometimes never cloſed my eye-lids for grief. It became now not ſo much a trial for academical reputation, as for the production of a work which might be uſeful to injured Africa; and keeping this idea in my mind, even after the peruſal of Benezet, I always ſlept with a candle in my room, that I might riſe out of bed, and put down ſuch thoughts as might occur to me in the night, if I judged them valuable, conceiving that no arguments of any moment ſhould be loſt in ſo great a cauſe. Having at length finiſhed this painful taſk, I ſent my eſſay to the Vice-Chancellor, and ſoon afterwards found myſelf honoured, as before, with the firſt prize.

'As it is usual to read these essays in the Senate-house soon after the prize is adjudged, I was called to Cambridge for this purpose. I went and performed my office. On returning, however, to London, the subject of it almost wholly engrossed my thoughts. I became at times very seriously affected while upon the road. I stopped my horse occasionally, and dismounted and walked. I frequently tried to persuade myself, in these intervals, that the contents of my essay could not be true. The more, however, I reflected upon them, or rather upon the authorities on which they were founded, the more I gave them credit. Coming in sight of Wadesmill, in Hertfordshire, I sat down disconsolate on the turf, by the road-side, and held my horse. Here a thought came into my mind, that, if the contents of the essay were true, it was time some person should see these calamities to their end. Agitated in this manner, I reached home. This was in the summer of 1785.

'In the course of the autumn of the same year, I experienced similar impressions. I walked frequently into the woods, that I might think on the subject in solitude, and find relief to my mind there. But there the question still recurred, 'Are these things true?'

Still

Still the answer followed as instantaneously, 'They are.'—Still the result accompanied it, 'Then surely some person should interfere.' I then began to envy those who had seats in Parliament, and who had great riches, and widely extended connexions, which would enable them to take up this cause. Finding scarcely any one at that time who thought of it, I was turned frequently to myself. But here many difficulties arose. It struck me, among others, that a young man of only twenty-four years of age could not have that solid judgment, that knowledge of men, manners and things, which were requisite to qualify him to undertake a task of such magnitude and importance.—And with whom was I to unite? I believed also, that it looked so much like one of the feigned labours of Hercules, that my understanding would be suspected if I proposed it. On ruminating, however, on the subject, I found one thing at least practicable, and that this also was in my power. I could translate my Latin dissertation;—I could enlarge it usefully;—I could see how the public received it, or how far they were likely to favour any serious measures, which should have a tendency to produce the abolition of the slave-trade. Upon this then I determined; and in the middle of the month of November 1785, I began my work.'

In consequence of the obligation in conscience which our author felt to publish this essay, he became accidentally acquainted with the six Quakers, who, unknown to the public, had devoted themselves to the same cause. Through these he was first introduced to the labours of Mr Granville Sharp, and the controversial writings of Ramsay.

Soon after, having received distinct encouragement from Bennet Langton, Dr Baker, Lord and Lady Scarsdale, and Lady and Sir Charles Middleton (now Lord Barham), all of whom are introduced to our acquaintance in the most pleasing manner, and with many interesting anecdotes, the author, at the house of the latter, declared himself ready to devote himself entirely to the cause. After serious consideration, and many struggles of reason and of feeling, he persisted in the resolution; he followed it out; and sacrificed to it his youth, his manhood, his health, and his worldly prosperity. The reader will henceforward follow him with unintermitting interest. The account of his introduction to Mr Wilberforce, Mr Pitt, and Mr Fox, could not fail to interest, in the perusal, even on a less important object. It is not, indeed, the least delightful impression left on our mind by these volumes, that we rise with a faith in the *goodness* of many of those whom we have been accustomed to contemplate chiefly as *great* and *powerful*; and feel the asperity of party prejudices die away when we find, that, where the cause of justice, and the liberation of the oppressed, call forth their efforts, so many political opponents felt no rivalry but that of zealous exertion in the same good cause.

Greatly

Greatly must our author have congratulated himself, that such men as Wilberforce, Fox and Pitt, were his countrymen and contemporaries, admired and reverenced by the nation, and in the full enjoyment of their natural and acquired powers,—of that robust, yet agile and fervid logic, by which they rendered irresistible the weight and mass of evidence dug up, as it were, and brought to light by his indefatigable toils. Independent, too, of that genius which they possessed in common, there was a felicity in the nature and separate department of the influence of each of the three, which, on such an occasion, we may venture to call providential. The example and authority of Mr Fox, which could not be powerless even on the minds of his political opponents, acted with especial strength on that class which had distinguished themselves as the less timid friends of freedom and general illumination. Now, though this class contained its full share of disinterested, enlightened, and patriotic individuals, yet it cannot be denied, that their characteristic zeal for constitutional liberty had been assumed as a mask by many of lax and unconstitutional principles. The wishes and supposed designs of these men, seen magnified through the mist occasioned by the panic of property, and (what was worse) attributed to thousands who held in abhorrence the whole Gallican code, as far as it was contradistinguished from our own, threatened every measure proposed by Mr Fox with unpopularity, if not active opposition. We have too many analogous facts on record to render it probable, that this, if Mr Fox had stood single in the contest, would have scared away many truly good and pious persons (especially the more religious females in the higher ranks of society), and given a dangerous pretext to the adherents and patrons of the trade. To this danger, the fervent loyalty and known piety of Mr Wilberforce and his particular friends presented a powerful antidote; while to the manufacturers and merchants, who were willing enough to impute their zeal to a fanatical enthusiasm, the name of Mr Pitt seemed to hold out a still higher sanction.

We admit, therefore, that the countenance which Mr Pitt gave to the cause of the abolition, was of the utmost consequence to its success. It discountenanced the opposition which it did not prevent; it confirmed the opinion of many who were too indolent not to prefer authority to evidence; and gave a license to many to express and to act upon a conviction which they might otherwise have been induced to suppress. By his eloquence, and by his authority, he gave confidence to the cause of justice, and currency to the dictates of reason. When we consider the solemnity of his protestations, and the great political interest of those whom he disobliged by his exertions, it is painful, and almost

most impossible to admit any doubt of his sincerity. Yet, if he was sincere, he certainly was not zealous in the cause; and neglected so many opportunities of promoting it, that it was not without wonder that we found Mr Clarkson's book inscribed to his *Memory*, in a dedication in which the name of Mr Wilberforce is omitted. That he was not altogether so zealous in the cause as his professions would lead us to believe, appears from a variety of circumstances. In the first place, from the uniform and strenuous opposition of Mr Dundas, who had in this instance no immediate interest to serve, and was never known to differ from his patron on speculative grounds. In the second place, from the uniform failure of the cause in Parliament, during his long and strong administration. For the long space of twenty years, Mr Pitt could persuade about three fourths of the members of Parliament to adopt any scheme of finance, or of external policy, which he chose to countenance,—but could never once prevail with a bare majority to support him against the slave traders and consignees of sugar in Bristol and Liverpool. Even in 1805, he was in a minority upon a decision on that question;—and yet, no sooner did the late ministry come into power, than they contrived some how or other so effectually to remove those deep-rooted scruples, that the bill for the instant abolition passed almost unanimously;—there being, if we rightly remember, no more than 16 dissentient voices out of a very full attendance in the Lower House. The most suspicious thing, however, in all Mr Pitt's conduct, was his proceedings in 1797, and in 1805, with regard to the Dutch colonies of Guiana, Demarary, Berbice, &c. Those possessions fell into our hands in 1797; and having been prevented from supplying themselves with negroes during the war, were ready to take off a greater number than usual. It was in the power of the ministry, without a vote of Parliament, to prohibit or restrain the slave trade of those colonies, by a mere order in Council. Mr Pitt, however, took no such step; and such was the vast addition that was consequently made to the British slave trade, that the annual importation was immediately increased from 25,000 to 57,000,—being an addition of no less than 32,000. This tremendous traffic went on under Mr Pitt's eye for eight years; and then, when the extended cultivation of those new colonies had begun to sink the value of West India produce, and of the old plantations, the clamours of the sugar-dealers produced that interference which humanity and justice had formerly solicited in vain. In August 1805, Mr Pitt annihilated the whole slave trade of the Dutch colonies, by a single order in Council. This he did avowedly to appease the jealousies, and allay the clamours of the planters in the old islands;

and this he did not do in 1797, or any of the intervening years, though he had it all that time in his power, and though he was all that time making eloquent professions of the horror and detestation with which he regarded this inhuman traffic.

The most interesting part of this book, after all, perhaps, is the account of the author's incredible perseverance in procuring evidence. And here it is indeed a most observable fact, and one which conveys the keenest satire on the cause of his opponents, that though, of the few witnesses which toil, danger, and the voice of conscience, had with difficulty obtained from distant parts of the kingdom, not above a third were heard in evidence; and though, even of these, a great and important part were men in humble situations of life; while, on the other hand, every individual of the numerous witnesses in favour of this traffic (and these men of the highest rank and fortune,—admirals, governors, and wealthy proprietors) were heard, and four fifths of the time allotted to the examinations, liberally devoted to them; yet, such was the force of truth, that, with exception of the Members of the interested cities, and of one or two individuals closely connected with the trade, no one of the opponents of the abolition ever pretended to doubt the attestations of the humble and despised few, or to believe the truth of the testimony, however they might respect the veracity, of the great and powerful body of counter witnesses. The conduct and fate of the individual, against whom, in his own presence, our author was reluctantly cross-examined, and which is related Vol. II. p. 181. with a delicacy most honourable to Mr Clarkson's feelings, will furnish an awful warning to those who can be bold in defence of evil, and shrink away from their own prior testimony in support of truth and justice.

With a deep interest, and the warmest sympathy, we have followed our author in his journeys to Bristol, during his hazardous detection of the horrors of those public houses employed to allure unhappy mariners into the pitfall of guilt and perdition; the dread which—after he had brought a murderer to trial—his presence spread among the whole party concerned in this immemorial opprobrium of that city, * (Vol. I. from p. 292. to 368.); and

* 'Directly opposite the Irish coast, there is a seaport town called Bristol, the inhabitants of which frequently sail into Ireland, to sell, there, people whom they had bought up throughout all England. They exposed to sale maidens in a state of pregnancy, with whom they made a sort of mock-marriages. There you might see with grief, fastened together by ropes, whole rows of wretched beings, of both sexes, of elegant forms, and in the very bloom of youth, a sight

and during his yet more toilsome and hazardous adventures at Liverpool, in which his life was more than once in imminent jeopardy; and all his ceaseless pursuit of facts and individuals, which enabled him, in the year 1788, to arrange and publish that great body of evidence comprized in his work of 'The Impolicy of the Slave Trade,' to which nothing was, or could indeed be added; with one exception, viz. that of the important documents procured by the authority, and enforced by the eloquence of Mr Pitt, concerning the black population of the colonies, its gradual increase, and undoubted capability of supporting itself, unaided by fresh importations. This was indeed a most important accession; for although the fact, so established, had been absolutely demonstrated *a priori*, from the congeniality of the West Indian climate with the African constitutions, and the known prolificity of the Blacks under very unfavourable circumstances; yet the quarter from which these documents were furnished added prodigiously to their strength, and furnished the abolitionists with a weapon against which the most unabashed impudence, and the blindest prejudice, could present no defensive armour. And in fact, after the publication of the 'Impolicy,' and the appearance of these documents, the whole ground of *argument* was in a manner abandoned, and the agents of the slave-merchants and planters recurred wholly to secret intrigues, and the lowest tricks of delay. Blessed as the final event has been, we cannot, without the most painful shame, remember, that, even thus baffled, confuted, and put to silence, they remained dangerously powerful; and that blind and unfeeling avarice ran a race of perseverance with humanity and the sense of national honour, in which the latter, more than once, appeared to lag behind, and to rest, as if desirous of sleeping.

Then was made apparent the great importance, and even the necessity, of an association, formed on such principles, and composed of such individuals, as was the committee for the abolition. They remained unwearied on the watch-tower. Under their auspices our author renewed his journeys for witnesses—we might almost say, his one, long, and continued journey! We cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of quoting the following passage, as a singular instance of almost unexampled perseverance. There

sight sufficient to excite pity even in barbarians, daily offered for sale to the first purchaser. Accursed deed! Infamous disgrace! that men, acting in a manner which brutal instinct alone would have forbidden, should sell into slavery their relations, nay, even their own offspring.' *William of Malmsbury, Book ii. ch.* 20.—*Life of St Wolstan, Bishop of Worcester.*

were, it seems, strong grounds of suspicion concerning the mode of procuring the slaves which were brought down from the interior on the rivers of Calabàr and Bonny. From a variety of circumstances, the Committee inferred, that a part, or perhaps the greater part, had been kidnapped. How, then, says our author, were we to decide this important question? for it was said, that no white man was ever permitted by the natives to go up in their canoes. On mentioning accidentally these circumstances to a friend, this friend informed him, that he himself had been in company, about a year before, with a sailor, a very respectable looking man, who had been up these rivers. He had spent half an hour with him at an inn, and described his person; but he knew nothing of his name, or of the place of his abode. All he knew was, that he was either going, or that he belonged to, some ship of war in ordinary; but he could not tell at what port.

Our author, determining to find out so important a witness, procured from Sir C. Middleton, as comptroller of the navy, a permission to board all the ships of war in ordinary. Ships of war in ordinary are those which are out of commission, and laid up in the different rivers and waters in the neighbourhood of the King's dock-yards. For the completion of this interesting tale, we shall use our author's own words.

'At length I began my journey. I boarded all the ships of war lying in ordinary at Deptford, and examined the different persons in each. From Deptford I proceeded to Woolwich, where I did the same. Thence I hastened to Chatham, and then, down the Medway, to Sheerness. I had now boarded above a hundred and sixty vessels of war. I had found out two good and willing evidences among them; but I could gain no intelligence of him who was the object of my search.

'From Chatham I made the best of my way to Portsmouth-harbour. A very formidable task presented itself here; but the masters' boats were ready for me, and I continued my pursuit. On boarding the Pegase, on the second day, I discovered a very respectable person in the gunner of that ship. His name was George Millar. He had been on board the Canterbury slave-ship at the dreadful massacre at Calabàr. He was the only disinterested evidence living, of whom I had yet heard. He expressed his willingness to give his testimony, if his presence should be thought necessary in London. I then continued my pursuit for the remainder of the day. On the next day, I resumed and finished it for this quarter. I had now examined the different persons in more than a hundred vessels in this harbour; but I had not discovered the person I had gone to seek.

'Matters now began to look rather disheartening, I mean as far as my grand object was concerned. There was but one other port left, and this was between two and three hundred miles distant. I determined,

determined, however, to go to Plymouth. I had already been more successful in this tour, with respect to obtaining general evidence, than in any other of the same length; and the probability was, that as I should continue to move among the same kind of people, my success would be in a similar proportion, according to the number visited. These were great encouragements to me to proceed. At length I arrived at the place of my last hope. On my first day's expedition I boarded forty vessels, but found no one in these who had been on the coast of Africa in the slave trade. One or two had been there in King's ships; but they had never been on shore. Things were now drawing near to a close; and, notwithstanding my success, as to general evidence, in this journey, my heart began to beat. I was restless and uneasy during the night. The next morning, I felt agitated again between the alternate pressure of hope and fear; and in this state I entered my boat. The fifty-seventh vessel I boarded was the Melampus frigate. One person belonging to it, on examining him in the Captain's cabin, said he had been two voyages to Africa; and I had not long discoursed with him, before I found, to my inexpressible joy, that he was the man. I found, too, that he unravelled the question in dispute precisely as our inferences had determined it. He had been two expeditions up the river Calabar in the canoes of the natives. In the first of these, they came within a certain distance of a village: they then concealed themselves under the bushes, which hung over the water from the banks. In this position they remained during the daylight; but at night they went up to it armed, and seized all the inhabitants, who had not time to make their escape. They obtained forty-five persons in this manner. In the second, they were out eight or nine days, when they made a similar attempt, and with nearly similar success. They seized men, women and children, as they could find them in the huts. They then bound their arms, and drove them before them to the canoes. The name of the person thus discovered on board the Melampus was Isaac Parker. On inquiring into his character from the master of the division, I found it highly respectable. I found also afterward that he had sailed with Captain Cook, with great credit to himself, round the world. It was also remarkable, that my brother, on seeing him in London, when he went to deliver his evidence, recognized him as having served on board the Monarch man of war, and as one of the most exemplary men in that ship.

'I returned now in triumph. I had been out only three weeks, and I had found out this extraordinary person, and five respectable witnesses besides. These, added to the three discovered in the last journey, and to those provided before, made us more formidable than at any former period; so that the delay of our opponents, which we had looked upon as so great an evil, proved in the end truly serviceable to our cause.'

Willingly, if our space permitted it, and if it were not our duty to refer our readers to the work itself, we should follow

our author in his journey through France at the commencement of the Revolution, and his interviews with Mirabeau, Brissot, and others of the then popular demagogues. Of Mirabeau, our author has inserted a letter, which is *truly French.* With a much lower opinion of Mirabeau's talents than Mr Clarkson seems to entertain, we yet could have wished to have seen more of his letters. In reading this part of the work, two reflections force themselves upon us—the one honourable to our author, the other to our country. When we consider how perfectly unconnected Mr Clarkson has preserved himself from all political partialities, neither blaming one party, nor extolling another, but devoted, as he felt himself, to one great work, and almost deeming an ignorance of whatever might distract him from it to be a duty, we were particularly pleased with the courage with which he defends the moral character and intentions of Brissot. It was natural, almost inevitable, that a man with such objects and such feelings as Mr Clarkson's, should be strongly prepossessed in favour of every one who felt, or appeared to feel, equal zeal in the same cause. He may or may not have been deceived in the virtues of Brissot; but, considering his attachment to Mr Pitt and Mr Wilberforce, and his evident personal affection for the latter, it was a noble act of fortitude to step forward, and, with no wish to decide on the public principles of the man, yet to give his attestation for the purity of his motives, and the innocence of his private life. The second involves a far more important fact. In Great Britain, the chiefs, the eminent characters as to influence at least, though not talent, arranged themselves under different banners in this contest. A majority of the cabinet, it is believed, were hostile to the abolition; but the nation, throughout city, town, and village, was only not unanimous: and though the almost weekly explosion of new events, all of them more or less directly affecting the interests of Great Britain, drew away their attention, or deadened their zeal, for a time, as to this great subject, yet it was only necessary to proclaim the same facts anew, and the same zeal was rekindled, the same sense of duty felt and expressed by all classes. In France, on the contrary, the most eminent characters were deeply interested for a little moment in the abolition; but the people throughout France were either ignorant of the horrors of the trade, or unaffected by them. This is that which constitutes the true, the fundamental strength of our empire. Great Britain is indeed a *living body politic:* the chain of interests extends in unbroken links from the great city to the far extremities of the empire; and thoughts and feelings are conducted by it with the rapidity of an electric charge. At the commencement of the Revolution, a temporary enthusiasm seems indeed to have shed

shed one and the same spirit on the great majority of the French people; but (wanting both the continuous gradation of ranks which exists in our landed property, and that unbroken connexion of interests produced by insular situation; our national debt; our established commercial preeminence; and that unbounded confidence between man and man, which is the consequence of these) the enthusiasm was transient; and the first victorious soldier, who dared act the traitor, gave proof to all Europe, that France had indeed an immense *populace*, but not a *people; Plebem, non populum.* The republican legislators had laboured, by a variety of evolutions and schemes of arrangement, to give to the people the means of acting on, and influencing, the conduct of their governors. But conventional statutes, neither harmonizing with old customs, nor arising out of the state and circumstances of the country, could weave only a rope of sand: they could not supply that true link of interests, which law may protect and encourage, but which individuals must have previously created. London is *the* chief city of Great Britain; Paris *a* vast city in France. London is the true *heart* of the empire. No pulse beats there, which is not corresponded to proportionally through the whole circulation. Paris is a wen; and the existence of such an excrescence was not the least powerful cause of the failure of every effort to give France a free constitution.

Though much depressed by his ill success in France, Mr Clarkson continued his labours, till excess of exertion, joined to repeated and bitter disappointments, utterly ruined his health; and, after a hard struggle, subdued a constitution naturally strong and vigorous beyond the lot of men in general, but shattered by anxiety and fatigue, and the sad probability, often forced upon his understanding, that all might at last have been in vain.

'After this decision,' says our author, 'the question was in a desperate state; for if the Commons would not renew their own resolution, and the Lords would not abolish the foreign part of the slave trade, what hope was there of success? It was obvious, too, that, in the former House, Mr Pitt and Mr Dundas voted against each other. In the latter, the Lord Chancellor Thurlow opposed every motion in favour of the cause. The Committee, therefore, were reduced to this---either they must exert themselves without hope, or they must wait till some change should take place in their favour. As far as I myself was concerned, all exertion was then over. The nervous system was almost shattered to pieces. Both my memory and my hearing failed me; sudden dizzinesses seized my head; a confused singing in the ears followed me wherever I went. On going to bed, the very stairs seemed to dance up and down under me, so that, misplacing my foot, I sometimes fell. Talking, too, if it continued but for half an hour, exhausted me, so that profuse perspirations

followed; and the same effect was produced even by an active exertion of the mind for the like time. These disorders had been brought on by degrees, in consequence of the severe labours necessarily attached to the promotion of the cause. For seven years, I had a correspondence to maintain with four hundred persons with my own hand. I had some book or other annually to write on behalf of the cause. In this period, I had travelled more than thirty-five thousand miles in search of evidence, and a great part of these journeys in the night. All this time my mind had been on the stretch. It had been bent, too, to this one subject; for I had not even leisure to attend to my own concerns. The various instances of barbarity, which had come successively to my knowledge within this period, had vexed, harassed, and afflicted it. The wound, which these had produced, was rendered still deeper by those cruel disappointments before related, which arose from the reiterated refusal of persons to give their testimony, after I had travelled hundreds of miles in quest of them. But the severest stroke was that inflicted by the persecution, begun and pursued by persons interested in the continuance of the trade, of such witnesses as had been examined against them, and whom, on account of their dependent situation in life, it was most easy to oppress. As I had been the means of bringing these forward on these occasions, they naturally came to me, when thus persecuted, as the author of their miseries and their ruin. From their supplications and wants it would have been ungenerous and ungrateful to have fled. * These different circumstances, by acting together, had at length brought me into the situation just mentioned; and I was therefore obliged, though very reluctantly, to be borne out of the field, where I had placed the great honour and glory of my life.'

Mr Clarkson, accordingly, retired for some years; and, by devoting himself to agricultural pursuits, had effected, by slow degrees, the restoration of his health. When a change of ministry took place, Mr Fox and Lord Grenville brought, not only their own, but all their official interest, to cleanse away this guilt from the national character; and our author and his virtuous coadjutors received the final reward of their labours in the legal abolition of the trade relatively to the British empire; which, conspiring with the same measure in America and Denmark, suspends at present, and

* It appears, in a note to this passage, highly to the honour of the late Mr Whitbread, that as soon as he became acquainted with this circumstance, he generously undertook, in order to make Mr Clarkson's mind easy on this subject, to make good all injuries, out of his own purse, which should arise to individuals from such persecution. Nobody heard at the time of this noble act of generosity. It is proud for England, that her Commoners should be thus able and willing to baffle the schemes of oppression; and magnanimous enough, at the same time, to decline the fame they have deserved.

and in no short period must extinguish, the existence of this infamy of Christendom altogether. There were many awful circumstances attendant on this final and formal consummation of the wishes and efforts of the good and enlightened. Mr Fox, who, struggling up against the manifest decay of his mortal life, had assumed the place of power chiefly to effectuate the two grand objects of his anxiety, the peace of Europe, and the conclusion of the infamous and still more pernicious war against the continent of Africa, saw the vessel, after its long tempestuous voyage, entering its harbour—and closed his eyes! The anchor was cast on the very last day of the ostensible ministry of his friends, and fifteen days after a notice of dismissal had been received by them from their Sovereign.

Mr Clarkson has assured us, from private conversations with Mr Pitt, that this great minister felt it near to his heart, that his country should not only discontinue its permission of guilt so enormous, but that, by some well arranged plan of civilizing commerce, it should make compensation to the inhabitants of Africa for past oppressions. We feel an honest indignation, when we hear the difficulties attendant on such a plan ostentatiously held forth, and always on the supposition that the work is to be begun and carried on solely by unaided individuals. No! The guilt was national, and authorized by acts of the Legislature. Let the compensation then be national also, and let the national wish be invested with powers of accomplishing it. Never perhaps has there occurred a time in which the command of virtue was so imperiously the dictate of prudence. If we retain our possessions in North America, these colonies, joined to commercial intercourse with the interior of Africa by means of its great rivers, would render our trade and manufactures independent of the Continent of Europe, and safe from the wars in which European policy has so often involved us. The love of British conveniencies and comforts will not cease with the cessation of the slave trade. If the desire of these conveniences, (a circumstance of good omen, inasmuch as the multiplication of wants, and consequently of ideas, is the commencement of civilization), if this desire of European implements and luxuries was so strong, that their petty kings were tempted thereby to kidnap their own subjects, burn their own towns, and lay waste their own fields, it certainly seems highly irrational to suppose, that the same, or greater, inducements would not be an adequate motive for employing their tribes, in the first instance perhaps, in the mere collection of the products of the country, and doubtless within no long period in the cultivation of whatever would certainly be accepted as the price of our importations. History, which

which furnishes proofs of the ultimate superiority of moral action over the powers either of climate or the lower parts of our nature, does not permit us to doubt, that the progress of such a plan will be accelerated beyond the conception of vulgar minds. We refer, not without pride, to the late progress made by the Quakers in North America, over far more obstinate prejudices, in proof how soon liberal motives, substantiated by corresponding conduct, would gain the confidence of the African Princes, and induce their tribes to refer to us as counsellors and guides.

It is surely not to be feared, for the time to come, that in contempt of uniform experience, we should ever attempt, for the sake of commerce, to govern by force of arms, an already peopled country. We have heard indeed, the prosperity of America declared by Lord Sidmouth, when he was Minister of State, to be an awful warning to Great Britain, never hereafter to colonize a new country. Merciful Heaven! that the brethren of our ancestors should have founded a mighty empire, indefinite in its increase,—an empire, which retains and is spreading all that constitutes 'Country' in a wise man's feelings, viz. the same laws, the same customs, the same religion, and above all the same language; that, in short, to have been the mother of prosperous empires, is to *be a warning to* Great Britain! And whence this dread? Because, forsooth, our eldest born, when of age, had set up for himself; and not only preserving, but, in an almost incalculable proportion, increasing the advantages of former reciprocal intercourse, had saved us the expense and anxiety of defending, and the embarrassment of governing a country three thousand miles distant! That this separation was at length effected by violence, and the horrors of a civil war, is to be attributed solely to the ignorance and corruption of the many, and the perilous bigotry of a few. But Africa is free from the objections even of this '*Genus Attonitorum*,' both from the climate, and the absence of those temptations, which have been found too powerful in India.

The Africans are more versatile, more easily modified than perhaps any other known race. A few years of strict honesty and humane attention to their interests, affections, and prejudices, would abolish the memory of the past, or cause it to be remembered only as a fair contrast. The Legislature of Great Britain having once decreed that no territorial conquest shall be made in Africa, this law having been made public there, and enforced by correspondent conduct on the part of our mercantile agents, there would be less difficulty in buying up the tributes hitherto levied by the African chieftains on the great rivers, than William Penn found in purchasing the more important possession of Pennsylvania from the American Indians. Permission would in time be gained

gained to raise commercial magazines, so armed and manned, as should be found necessary for the security of our countrymen. Privileges, both useful and flattering, should be held forth to such of the African tribes as would settle round each of these forts: still higher honours should be given to the individuals among such settlers as should have learnt our language, and acquired our arts of manufacture or cultivation. Thus, each fort, instead of being, as hitherto, a magazine of death and depravity, would finally become a centre of civilization, with diverging lines, the circumference of which would join or pass through similar circles. The intercourse with every part of Africa would not only be rendered secure in relation to the natives, but, from their friendly dispositions, rendered less dangerous to the health of European adventurers, no longer compelled to remain unsheltered, exposed to the vertical sun by day, or the destructive dews of the night. How valuable the productions of Africa already known are, may be learnt by consulting either Mr Clarkson's work on the Impolicy, or the volumes now before us, (vol. II. p. 14, &c.) or the Evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons. That these bear but a small proportion, both in number or value, to what would be hereafter discovered in consequence of our being masters of the great rivers, is most probable: and we are certain, that if African industry were awakened, few indeed are the articles necessary for our manufactures or consumption, which might not be raised in Africa, and come to us more cheaply, including the first cost and the freightage, than from any other part of the world.

Africa holds out no temptations, either to conquest or individual rapacity. The timid statesman will have to contemplate no independent American republic in its germ: the philosopher no future East Indian empire, to render peace short and insecure, and war more costly and anxious. It cannot be denied that the superstitions of the Africans will occasion great difficulties and embarrassments; but, by a systematic repression of all religious proselytism, except indeed that most effective instrument of conversion, the christian conduct of our agents; by a prudent and affectionate attention to the wishes and comforts of the chieftains, and the Mandingo priests; and by sedulous endeavours to enlighten them as *men*; this obstacle might gradually be removed,—at all events greatly lessened. Every individual employed in the different forts or settlements, should act under the conviction, that knowledge and civilization must, in the first instance, form the foundation, not the superstructure, of Christianity.

The African character is strikingly contrasted with that of the North

North American Indians; and the facility with which the Africans are impressed, the rapidity with which they take the colours of surrounding objects, oftentimes place them in a degrading light, as men, but are most auspicious symptoms of what they may hereafter become, as citizens. A crowd of slaves shouting in triumph at the proclamation of the reestablishment of slavery, (we allude to Villaret's letter,) or fighting with desperate fury against their own countrymen, who had escaped from a common tyrant, will not indeed bear a comparison, in moral dignity, with the stern, unbending warriors of the interior of North America; and yet present far better *data* of hope, regarded prospectively, and as the materials of a future nation. The American Indians are savages: the Africans (to speak classically) barbarians. Of the civilization of savages, we know no certain instance, the actual origin of Mexico and Peru, the only cases that have any claim at all to be adduced, not having been preserved even by the rudest tradition. But of the progress from barbarism to civilization, through its various stages, the history of every nation gives a more or less distinct example, in proportion to our opportunity of tracing it backward.

This distinction between the savage and barbarous state, which is indeed fruitful in consequences, bears upon the present question in one important point, the willingness, we mean, with which barbarous tribes adopt, as it were at command, the changes in laws or religion, dictated to them by their leaders. Let no alarming zeal be betrayed: rather let the initiation into Christianity be held up as a distinction,—as a favour to be bestowed; and it need not be doubted, that natural curiosity will prompt the chieftains, and most intelligent of the African tribes, to inquire into the particulars of a religion professed by a race confessedly so superior to them, and that the sense of this superiority will act as a powerful motive toward their adoption of it. At all events, a long trial has been given to injustice and cruelty: surely justice and benevolence may claim, that one experiment should be made of their influence, and in their favour.

In the commencement of this review, we stated our purpose, not to examine these volumes as a mere work of literature. It is sufficient for us to say, in concluding, that the style, in general, is perspicuous, correct, and characterized by a sort of scriptural simplicity, well suited both to the author and the subject. Here and there indeed, we have met with an incongruous metaphor, and occasionally felt a want of cement in the style, from the shortness and independence of the sentences; but we can with truth aver, that the only fault which remained in our memory, after the perusal of the two volumes, was the want of a third. Many interesting

tereſting events, ſuch as the trial of Somerſet, ſhould have been given at large; and of the laſt part of the ſecond volume, the narration appeared to us rather hurried. We riſe, however, from the peruſal, with feelings of gratitude and veneration to Mr Clarkſon, and with pleaſing and favourable impreſſions of human nature in general.

ART. VI. *Raccolta Cronologico-ragionata di documenti inediti, che formano la ſtoria diplomatica della rivoluzione e caduta della Repubblica di Venezia, corredata di critiche oſſervazioni.* 2 vol. 4to. p. 812.

An accurate Account of the Fall of the Republic of Venice, and of the circumſtances attending that event; in which the French ſyſtem of Undermining and Revolutionizing States is expoſed; and the true Character of Buonaparté faithfully pourtrayed. Tranſlated from the Italian, by John Hinckley Eſq. F. S. A.

WE long ſince propoſed to notice the firſt of theſe works; but, as it was ſtudiouſly ſuppreſſed on the Continent by the agents of the French government, the difficulty of obtaining a complete copy of it repeatedly obliged us to poſtpone this intention. It contains, as the title imports, a collection of documents relating to the revolution and fall of Venice. To thoſe who wiſh to become minutely acquainted with the circumſtances which preceded and accompanied that event, this collection cannot fail to be intereſting. It conſiſts, indeed, chiefly of orders, inſtructions, and decrees of the Venetian government, and of deſpatches from their miniſters at foreign courts; and we are perhaps the more inclined to ſet a value upon it, in conſequence of the impenetrable ſecrecy in which the affairs of the republic were formerly involved. Independently, however, of the gratification which our curioſity derives from the development of the tranſactions of this myſterious government, it is impoſſible that a ſtate, whoſe political exiſtence includes a period of nearly fourteen centuries, and whoſe annals record many ſplendid and memorable achievements, ſhould ſink into annihilation without producing an intereſt correſponding to the hiſtorical importance of ſuch an event. With reference to the ſcenes which have lately been exhibited in the grand political drama, the cataſtrophe of Venice appears to be hardly a ſufficiently prominent object to claim any peculiar attention. But when we reflect on the antiquity and origin of theſe ſtates, the effectual reſiſtance which they oppoſed to the moſt formidable combinations againſt their independence; the extent of their poli-

tical

tical influence on the affairs of the Continent; the maritime dominion which they once exerciſed, almoſt without controul; and their ſucceſsful extenſion of commerce, and promotion of the arts, we muſt admit, that the fall of this republic is an event calculated to produce a very conſiderable ſenſation. It muſt be confeſſed, that the ſubverſion of the government would have been viewed with more regret, if thoſe who adminiſtered it had been more diſtinguiſhed for firmneſs, wiſdom, or patriotiſm. But we are apprehenſive, that the following outline, which we have extracted from a careful peruſal of the documents before us, will too plainly demonſtrate, that the whole body of public functionaries was criminally deficient in all the great and virtuous qualities, which, in ſuch times, were indiſpenſably requiſite to provide for the ſecurity of the ſtate.

The new principles to which the French revolution had given birth, excited an early alarm in many parts of Italy. The court of Turin ſeems to have been firſt ſtruck with the danger; and, to guard againſt it, conceived the project of uniting the different powers of Italy into a league for their own defence. This, at leaſt, was the oſtenſible object of the propoſed confederacy. Towards the concluſion of the year 1791, the Sardinian miniſter communicated this project to the Venetian government, with an invitation to accede to the general alliance; but the latter, clinging with obſtinate timidity to the narrow policy of a ſtrict neutrality, expreſſed a determination not to become a party to the league. They appear, however, not to have been inſenſible to the chance of future danger; for, ſhortly afterwards, they recalled their maritime force from the Mediterranean. Upon this, the Grand Duke of Tuſcany made an application to them for the protection of Leghorn and the Papal ſhores; but they replied, that the neutrality which they had adopted, required that their navy ſhould be employed ſolely in defence of their own poſſeſſions in the Adriatic.

Similar overtures were afterwards made to the Venetians from various quarters. The courts of Sardinia and Naples jointly propoſed an alliance; and, nearly at the ſame time, towards the end of 1792, a confederative offer was made to them by the Auſtrian cabinet. Both of theſe overtures were declined, upon the principle of a rigid obſervance of neutrality. It ſhould, however, be obſerved, that theſe propoſitions were never communicated to the Senate. The Savi, to whom they had been tranſmitted by the inquiſitors of ſtate, withheld them. The ſame fate attended almoſt every important deſpatch, or official communication, which came into the hands of the Savi, and which, if ſubmitted to the Senate, would have ſupplied them with that information, without which,

which, the affairs of the Venetian government could not poſſibly be properly conducted. But the Savi had uſurped an authority far beyond what belonged to them by the conſtitution; and we ſhall ſoon have occaſion to ſee, that their unſkilful exerciſe of this authority, was one chief cauſe of irremediable weakneſs and embarraſſment which led to the ſubverſion of the government.

The Venetians at this time probably entertained little doubt of being able to maintain their neutrality: and indeed, until the French overran Piedmont in 1795, the theatre of war was at ſuch a diſtance from their territories, that the experiment was perhaps perfectly juſtifiable. Whether this was the caſe after the appointment of General Bonaparte to the chief command of the army of Italy, is quite a different queſtion; the ſolution of which, in this part of the narration, we ſhall not attempt to anticipate. We ſhall only obſerve, that, during the interval, the Venetians, in order more effectually to avoid the hazard of war, acknowledged the French republic, and its ambaſſador, though the Engliſh miniſter remonſtrated, without effect, againſt the reception of the latter. As a further teſtimony of their deſire to maintain a good underſtanding with France, a Venetian ambaſſador was directed to proceed to Paris. He was preſented to the Convention on the 30th of July, 1795, and was received with diſtinction, and many aſſurances of friendſhip and attachment.

In the mean time, however, a few circumſtances had ariſen which created ſome jealouſy and diſſatisfaction in France. The Venetians refuſed to acknowledge M. Noel, a very active and intriguing diplomatiſt, in the capacity of minister plenipotentiary; they had ſupplied the Auſtrians with an inconſiderable quantity of proviſions; and they had permitted the Count de Provence (Louis XVIII.) to fix his reſidence in Verona. Beſides, the Senate, upon the ſuggeſtion and perſuaſion of the procurator, Francis Peſaro, had decreed that the republic ſhould arm, with a view more effectually to protect the ſtate, and to cauſe their neutral ſyſtem to be generally reſpected; but intrigue frustrated the execution of this ſalutary decree. France complained, of courſe, of all theſe acts of alleged partiality; and, in conſequence of her repeated remonſtrances, the Senate reluctantly determined to ſuggeſt to the Count de Provence the neceſſity of retiring from their territories. The intimation was made with the utmoſt delicacy; but it excited in the Count an undue degree of indignation. He withdrew from Verona in May 1796, the month in which Bonaparte firſt entered the Venetian territories. Notwithſtanding the Count's retirement, his former reſidence at Verona was afterwards regularly included in the charges againſt the Venetians.

An armistice having been concluded between France and Sardinia in April 1796, the success of the French armies, and the disasters of the Austrians, soon transferred the scene of hostilities to the neighbourhood of Venice. Conformably to an antient and existing treaty with Austria, the Venetians were obliged to grant them a passage for troops through that part of their territory which separates the dutchy of Mantua from the other possessions of the House of Austria. The misfortunes of the campaign had compelled the Austrians to occupy for a short time the Venetian fortress of Peschiera. It was thought expedient to explain this circumstance to General Bonaparte, and for this purpose a deputy was sent to him at Vallegio. No explanation, however, would be received. There were two reasons, the General said, which justified France in her resolution to treat Venice as a hostile state:—they had granted an asylum to the Count de Provence, the implacable enemy of the French republic; and they had allowed the Austrians to occupy Peschiera: and, in revenge for these offences, he threatened, in revenge, to burn Verona and the capital. Foscarini, the Proveditor of Terra Firma, made a second attempt to mollify him; but the General repeated his former complaints, and charged the Venetian government with violating their neutrality, and favouring the enemies of the French republic. He had orders from the Directory, on this account, to burn Verona; and Massena, he said, was then on his march to execute these orders. In a few days, too, he expected to receive from Paris instructions to declare war in form against Venice. All Foscarini's expostulations could only obtain from him an assurance that Verona should not be burnt, provided the French troops should be allowed to take possession of the town without meeting with the least resistance. On the 1st June, accordingly, they entered Verona, and immediately adopted every measure for securing the permanent possession. The Senate, alarmed at the contents of Foscarini's despatch, ordered an immediate equipment of their maritime forces, and an enrolment of troops. They also sent two deputies to Bonaparte on a conciliatory mission. The General now thought proper to change his tone. He hoped for a favourable change in their affairs; demanded supplies, and dismissed them courteously, with instructions to express to their government his desire to contribute his offices for the preservation of a good understanding between the two republics.

The French having thus obtained possession of Verona, immediately proceeded to treat the greater part of Venetian Terra Firma as a conquered country. The most oppressive requisitions were levied on the inhabitants, and their vineyards and olive plantations wantonly destroyed. The pusillanimity with which these provinces had been

been abandoned produced very great discontent; but the people still continued steadily loyal and faithful to their government. The contiguity of Bergamo, however, to the Milanese, which had already been revolutionized, could scarcely fail of producing a change in the political sentiments of the inhabitants. The progress of disaffection, however, was for a long time extremely slow; and the proceedings of the French, being daily marked with the greatest violence and injustice, at last awakened the loyalty and patriotism of the Bergamascs, who, to the number of ten thousand, offered their services to the Senate, and required no reward but the gratification of seeing their offer accepted. It was, indeed, accepted by the Senate; but afterwards rendered unavailing by the intrigues of the Savi.

The progress of the French armies at length excited so much alarm, that it was deemed expedient to take immediate measures for the defence of the capital. Great exertions were therefore made for the equipment of the navy, and the organization of the military force. To supply financial difficulties, a heavy tax was imposed; and extensive assistance was received in the shape of spontaneous contributions. In money alone they considerably exceeded 1,000,000 ducats. Every thing, in fact, appeared to demonstrate a determination to defend the capital. But, notwithstanding these preparations, the government persisted in its fatal system of neutrality, or made war against France only by remonstrances and deputations.

In the course of the year 1796, while the affairs of the republic were daily becoming more critical, several proposals of alliance were made to the government by the belligerents, and by a neutral power. With a view to increase the enemies of the House of Austria, Bonaparte projected an alliance with the Porte and Venice, and even promised the latter an augmentation of territory. In the month of December, the French being obliged to withdraw from Verona a part of their military force, in order to prevent the Austrians from attempting the relief of Mantua, General Alvinzi, with a view to open the road to this fortress, requested of the Venetian government permission to dislodge the French who had been left in Verona. This proposition, of course, amounted to an offer of alliance, since it would have identified the cause of Venice and Austria, and, if acceded to, must have united these powers in hostility against France. From a suspicion that Austria might, in the event of peace, be aggrandized by the territorial annexation of the Venetian States, Prussia, in December 1796, made overtures for an alliance with the Venetian republic. Surrounded by innumerable political dangers, and totally incapable of averting them by its own energies, this infa-

tuated government still obstinately persevered in its scheme of neutrality. All these overtures, therefore, were successively rejected; and the amicable professions of the French, though in every instance at variance with their proceedings, was still credited by the weak, and cherished by the insidious, members of the Venetian councils. In the very midst of these professions of amity, a detachment from the French army took possession of Legnago, and thence openly impeded the navigation of the Adige, detaining the vessels proceeding to Verona, and thus increasing the scarcity which prevailed not only in the Veronese, but in the provinces beyond the Mincio. The Senate remonstrated, as usual, in polished and dignified sentences; and were referred by the French resident to General Bonaparte, and by Bonaparte to the Directory,—who referred them back to the ambassador.

The raising of the siege of Mantua gave them a temporary hope of deliverance, and might have shown them the policy of siding with the Austians; but this triumph was, unfortunately, of short duration. Mantua fell in February 1797; and the French armies then found themselves at liberty to pursue the retreating Austrians, and finally to accomplish their design of taking entire possession of the Venetian territories. Previous to this important event, indeed, and under pretext of saving them from being occupied by the enemy, they had seized on the town and citadel of Bergamo, and proceeded shortly after to take possession by force of most of the towns of the Venetian Terra Firma; while their leader still continued to hold the language of peace and amity, and, with many protestations, to assure the deluded Venetians, that, on the return of peace, their states should constitute a barrier against Austrian treachery; and that the towns in the hands of the French should be restored, and the expenses incurred gradually liquidated.

Having got possession of most of the territory by these manœuvres, the French next proceeded to stir up the inhabitants to declare against the old government, and to claim the protection of France in erecting themselves into independent municipalities. This happened at Bergamo, Bolsena, Cremo, and other places; and a club was openly formed for the purpose of revolutionizing the whole Venetian States. When the Senate remonstrated, Bonaparte told them that they might reclaim their revolted subjects in the best way they could; but that it was necessary that they should accommodate him with a monthly loan of one million of francs for six months; accompanying this intimation with such suitable menaces as might ensure compliance. It appeared, indeed, throughout the conferences, that Bonaparte considered the Venetian

Venetian States as entirely at his disposal. The object of his government was evidently to procure an equivalent for the Low Countries; and, in fact, about this time a despatch was received from the Venetian minister in Paris, which stated, that the war in Italy was continued in order to provide indemnities for the Emperor of Germany, who would then be induced to cede Belgium to the French; and that, for the accomplishment of this purpose, the French pursued the twofold plan of revolutionizing and conquering the Venetian provinces.

While their territories were thus mouldering away, the government was laudably occupied in providing a fund for the payment of one million of francs monthly; annexing to these enormous supplies the vain and hopeless condition, that requisitions and revolutionary proceedings on the part of the French should be entirely suppressed. Something very different, however, was in the contemplation of their leader; and to give a colour to his outrageous proceedings, Bonaparte took advantage of a proclamation, *falsely attributed* to the Venetian government, which authorized the people to take up arms against the insurgents *and the French.* Upon this, he immediately demanded that the whole Venetian Terra Firma should be disarmed; and, from his headquarters at Judemberg, despatched to Venice his adjutant Junot, charged with letters to the Doge and the French minister. The menacing letter to the Doge, Junot delivered to him personally in council, and, consequently, under circumstances that added insult to an infraction of the laws of the republic. The letter to Lallemont, the French minister, contained a series of unfounded charges against the government, and a categorical demand of reparation. To these letters conciliatory answers were returned; the government justified their measures, but weakly engaged to comply with most of Bonaparte's demands.

In April 1797, a part of the populace of Verona was stimulated to rise against the government; and, after a sanguinary contest of many days, were enabled to subvert its establishment, by the open cooperation of a considerable French force. At this very critical moment, when force and treachery were ready to seize their victim, a very important despatch was received by the Inquisitors of State from the Venetian ambassador at Vienna. It related to an overture for cooperation with Austria. By some unaccountable fatality, the Inquisitors neglected to communicate this despatch, either to the Savi, or the Senate. Whether or not the acceptance of this overture could have snatched the Venetians from destruction, is a problem of difficult solution; but certainly a happier result might reasonably have been expected from it, than from an overture of a very different description,

which was shortly afterwards received from a member of the Executive Directory, through the channel of the Venetian minister at Paris. We shall at present only observe, that one of the members of the Directory proposed, upon the condition of receiving a valuable consideration (a bribe), to secure to the Venetians the integrity of the republic. We shall take another occasion to advert to this singular proposition.

We are now arrived at the last scene of this ancient republic. As we have already stated, perhaps too minutely, some of the transactions which paved the way for the catastrophe, we shall present our readers with only a concise outline of the events which immediately preceded its subversion.

In spring 1797, the Venetian islands and Lagunes were put in a respectable state of defence. An attempt was at this time made, by a small French ship of war, to force through, contrary to the laws of the republic, a passage into the Lagunes. Repeated, but unavailing intimations, were made to the commander, that if he persisted in the attempt, his ship would be fired upon by the Venetians. Notwithstanding this caution, he obstinately persisted. His vessel was immediately exposed to a tremendous fire, and destroyed. To explain this occurrence,—to justify the proceedings of the Senate,—to discover, if possible, whether any part of their territory had been sacrificed to the Emperor of Austria by the treaty recently concluded at Leoben,—and to maintain a friendly understanding with the French republic, two deputies were sent to Bonaparte. The conference, however, proved in every respect unsatisfactory; and the deputies entirely failed in every one of the objects of their mission.

In the mean time, the French armies drew close round the capital. On the 27th April they published a proclamation, inviting the town and province of Vicenza to shake off the authority of their old government; and, on the following day, a similar proclamation appeared in Padua. In both towns, provisional municipalities were formed; and in Padua, almost all the nobles signed an approval of the change. The safety of Venice became every hour more precarious. The sittings of the Senate were suspended; and its authority superseded, by a conferenza, which was held in the private chamber of the Doge. The conferenza assembled on the 30th of April 1797, and was proceeding to consider in what manner a communication should be made to the Great Council on the actual state of the republic, when they received intelligence that the French were making preparations, along the shores of the Lagunes, for an attack upon the capital. Consternation seized the Council; and several members proposed immediately to treat with Bonaparte for the surrender of Venice.

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At length, they determined that a proposition should be made to the Great Council to send two deputies to Bonaparte, in order to treat with him for a modification in the form of the Venetian government. The Great Council assembled on the 1st of May, and the proposition of the conferenza was carried almost unanimously.

On the 1st of May, Bonaparte, at last, issued a *formal declaration of war* against Venice. It consisted of fifteen charges, for any one of which it would be difficult to discover any real foundation. The deputies despatched to him were very unfavourably received. He declared that he would listen to no negotiations, until the assassination of his soldiers had been avenged, by *the death of the three Inquisitors of State*, and *the commander of the vessel* that had fired upon and sunk the French ship of war. If this demand was not complied with, Venice, he declared, should be in his power within fifteen days; and the nobili should escape death only to wander on the earth, like the noblesse of France. The only point in which the deputies succeeded, was in obtaining an armistice of five days, which was afterwards prolonged, but only to prepare for the bloodless but humiliating reception of the French armies into the capital of the republic. On the 4th of May, the Doge was guilty of the criminal weakness of proposing to the Great Council a compliance with Bonaparte's preliminary demands; and the Great Council was guilty of a still baser criminality, in voting, almost unanimously, for the arrestation and trial of the three Inquisitors of State, and the commander of the galliot.

The conferenza held various meetings, in one of which the Doge offered to renounce the ducal dignity, and to depositthe reins of government in the hands of those who had been instrumental in promoting a revolution. It was also determined, that the 11,000 Sclavonians, who had been originally brought to Venice for its defence, should be sent away; and that, in order to prepare for the reception of the French, the capital and the Lagunes should be disarmed. Meanwhile, new fears were diffused among the members of the conferenza. It was reported, that unless a change in the government were immediately effected, 16,000 conspirators (who in reality did not exist) would proceed to the massacre of all the patricians; and Villetard, the French minister, took upon him to propose, as necessary preparations for the establishment of the new government, that the tree of liberty should be planted in Venice; that the arms of the republic should be publicly burnt; and that this event should be celebrated by the performance of *Te Deum* in the church of St Mark.

On the 10th and 12th May, the agents of the revolutionary

faction, after conferring with the French minister, communicated two letters to the Doge. The first was insidiously designed to alarm him with every sort of apprehension. They insisted on the existence of an internal conspiracy, and on the infidelity of the Sclavonians; and stated it to be the opinion of Villetard, that the consequences of an internal explosion could be prevented only by anticipating the designs of Bonaparte, in the immediate establishment of a representative government. In the second, they communicated an extract of a letter, which they pretended the French minister had just received from a person in the confidence of Bonaparte, who stated it to be the determination of the latter, that a representative government should be immediately established on the ruins of the old aristocracy. The Doge repaired to the Great Council, laid before them these letters, and proposed to them an abdication of their functions. The question of abdication was carried with a shameful unanimity; and the dissolution of this sovereign body immediately succeeded. For the preservation of internal tranquillity, however, the chief members of the government continued provisionally in office.

On the 16th of May 1797, the revolution was completed. The French armies entered the capital. They exacted oppressive contributions; they pillaged the library, the arsenal, and the church and palace of St Mark; and, finally, in less than four months, this regenerated republic, notwithstanding its close alliance with France, was transferred, under the treaty of Campo Formio, to the House of Austria; to deliver it from which, Bonaparte declared, in the proclamation which he issued in May 1796, when he first entered on the Venetian territory, was the chief object of his operations.

Such was the inglorious end of a republic, whose existence had been preserved for thirteen centuries and a half. All the energy and wisdom which had laid the foundation of its power, and extended and consolidated its dominion, had long vanished from its councils; and when it ultimately perished, it may be doubted whether an impartial spectator would feel more detestation for the perfidy of its destroyers, or contempt for its weakness and self-desertion. Had it not been overthrown by the French, it would probably have speedily dissolved in the maturity of its own corruptions. All feelings of patriotism had long been extinct in the higher classes; and the only individuals who manifested any attachment to the antient government, was found among that populace, over which its sway was apparently so severe. This extraordinary state of things may, perhaps, be partly explained, by a short inquiry into the state of the government as it existed recently before its subversion.

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It seems to be generally admitted, that, for a considerable time, a narrow and tyrannical oligarchy had been gradually usurping the whole functions of the sovereign. The Savi, the Council of Ten, and the Inquisitors of State, had encroached so much on the authority of the Doge, that he had long ceased to be effectively the chief magistrate of the State. *Rex in purpurâ, Senator in curiâ, in urbe captivus, extra urbem privatus*—had become the true definition of this potentate. The Great Council had the power of electing to the most important offices of government; but the poverty of the greater part of the patricians, reduced them to a state of dependence on a few opulent nobles, and forced them to confer on their wealthy patrons the chief employments of the State. The same oligarchy directed, in a great degree, the proceedings of the Senate, and withheld, as we have seen, in the most important instances, the communication of those despatches, upon which, by the constitution of the republic, it was their right to decide. The exertions of this body were still further restrained by a system of avowed intimidation, which rendered it dangerous to Senators, especially to those destitute of fortune, to disclose abuses, question the policy of measures, or propose the adoption of others. Such a step infallibly exposed them to the risk of a visitation of *inquisitorial* power. By these, and by other means, the College of Savi, or Privy Council, as it may be termed, had acquired so much power, that the office had almost become hereditary in a few families. Though they exercised, in most cases, their authority in rotation, they acted upon a concerted system of usurpation. Scarcely less arbitrary and illegal were the civil and judicial proceedings of the Council of Ten; and those of the Inquisitors of State have been charged with cruelty, tyranny, and oppression, in many cases, while, in others, a corrupt relaxation of the laws liberated the guilty, and deprived justice of her demanded victims.

In the provinces, the same vices existed which prevailed in the capital. The public functionaries practised extortion without fear of punishment. The rich, trusting to the venality of the judicial tribunals, violated the laws with impunity. In several provinces, the vineyards and agriculture were neglected, and the peasants reduced to misery and ruin. The practice of granting, for money, the privilege of wearing arms, led to an incredible number of homicides and assassinations. With all these symptoms of decay and incurable corruption, concurred the disorder and failure of the finances. After seventy years of peace, the revenue proved unequal to the expenditure. The regular army was both inconsiderable in number, and inefficient from being held in slight estimation. Indeed, so little encouragement was given to military talents, that

many of the beſt and moſt enterprizing officers were driven, like the Catholics of Ireland, to ſeek employment and diſtinction in foreign ſervice: and, in the very important point of liberty of ſpeech and of the preſs, the Venetians had always been more hardly dealt with than any other European people. That there ſhould have been no very great exertion made for the ſupport of ſuch a government, may eaſily be conceived; but it ſeems difficult to explain, how the lower orders ſhould have made ſome efforts for its preſervation, even after it was deſerted by their rulers. Perhaps the oligarchy, by diminiſhing the number of their tyrants, had made their yoke more tolerable;—or perhaps their tumultuous movements aroſe only from a certain blind feeling of nationality, and an inſtinctive attachment to objects which they had long been accuſtomed to reverence.

The editor of the Raccolta, though a decided advocate of the old ſyſtem of government, yet admits the exiſtence of many fundamental abuſes, which menaced the ſtate with ſubverſion.

'E' fuor di dubbio,' he obſerves, 'che dovea questa Repubblica la lunga e felice sua durazione alla mirabile organizzazione del suo Governo, riguardato con sorpresa dall' Estere Nazioni. Non prio tuttavia dissimularsi, che molti sconcerti, e gravissimi disordini non si possero in esso introdotti mercè la caducità delle umane istitutioni. Noi accenneremo quelli soltanto, che influivano nel regime suo politico, e che furano senza contrasto una delle prossime cagioni delle sue sventure, e della sua caduta. All' esterna decadenza, di cui si è finora parlato, ben tosto la lunga pace, ed il continuo ozio accoppiarono gravi disordini, i quali indebolivano le pubbliche deliberazioni. In fatti un certo Egoismo, sempre fatale alle Repubbliche, un riflessibile raffredamento di quel zelo patrio, che tanto distinse gli Aristocratici de passati secoli, una falsa clemenza nei Triburali, onde rimanevano i delitti senza il castigo dalle Leggi prescritto, una certa facilità di propalare i Secreti del Senato, sorpassata con indolenza dagl' Inquisitori di Stato, un serpeggiante stravizzo, una non curanza delle cose sacre e religiose, un immoderato spirito di passatempi, una scandalosa impudenza nelle donne, un libertinaggio portato per così dire in trionfo negli nomini, erano fra gli altri i disordini, che dominavano in una parte de' Patrizi, e de' Cittadini d'ogni ceto e condizione, si in Venezia, che nello Stato. Ne fanno fede gl' interni sconvolgimenti degli anni 1762, e 1780, e la Loggia de Liberi Muratori scoperta nel 1785, in cui alcuni rispettabili soggetti avevano ingresso. Queste furono la cagioni estrinseche, che disponeyano l'edifizio ad un imminente pericolo di crollare.' Vol. I. p. 16.

After pointing out theſe ſymptoms of national decline, he exhibits a conciſe ſtatement of ſome of the leading political errors and internal abuſes which led to the diſſolution of the government. This ſtatement is by no means exaggerated; its truth, on the contrary,

contrary, is but too fully eſtabliſhed by the documents before us. We cannot, however, entirely agree with the editor in the obſervation with which he concludes his preliminary diſcourſe. He appears to be ſtrongly impreſſed with an opinion, 'che l'eſiſtenza della Repubblica di Vinezia, all' epocha della rivoluzione e caduta della Monarchia Franceſe, non era precaria, ma tale, che con le ſole attuali ſue forze, *ſi mens non læva fuiſſet*, era in grado di ſoſtenere ad eſempio de' maggiori *una Neutralità armata*, la quale era peraventura l'unica che ſalvarla poteva, non oſtante la decadenza polatica e morale, di cui ſi è ragionato.' Such an experiment might perhaps have been tried; but its ultimate efficacy may well be doubted: and, even now, when we have been inſtructed by the event, it ſeems to us abundantly manifeſt, that no ſyſtem of neutrality, whether armed or unarmed, could have ſecured the independence, or even the exiſtence of Venice, and that theſe great objects could not poſſibly have been accompliſhed, but by the adoption of a ſyſtem of alliance. We do not venture to aſſert that even ſuch a meaſure would have ſaved her; but, that it afforded the only chance of ſalvation, we think can hardly be made a queſtion.

That an unarmed neutrality was no way calculated to enſure reſpect from the French, and avert their deſigns of invaſion, was ſufficiently apparent from the moment Bonaparte entered the Venetian territory, and iſſued that inſidious proclamation, in which the deliverance of Venice from the iron yoke of Auſtria was the profeſſed object of his views. It is equally clear, that an armed neutrality would have been little leſs effectual, at leaſt in the way in which the armament would have been conducted. If, indeed, the military force had been duly organized,—if the regulars and the militia had been conſiderably augmented in numerical force, which the ſpirit and patriotiſm of the lower Venetians could have rendered eaſy,—if the fortreſſes had been adequately garriſoned, the capital put into a ſtrong poſture of defence, and the extenſive maritime ſtrength of the republic placed in readineſs for action,—ſome chance would have been preſented of compelling the French to reſpect the independence of Venice; eſpecially if it had been declared, that the leaſt aggreſſion on their part would have immediately produced an alliance offenſive and defenſive with Auſtria. It muſt be acknowledged, however, that it is ſtill problematical whether ſuch a junction, or, indeed, any cooperation whatever, could have effectually repreſſed the energies to which the principles, and the abuſe of the principles, of the French revolution had given exiſtence. But, if there was a remote chance of ſaving Venice, it could be found only in the adoption of a commanding poſition from the beginning, and the formation of a cordial alliance with Auſtria,

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the moment it became evident that her neutrality would be expoſed to violation. That moment was certainly come when the French overrun the north of Italy in ſummer 1795; and yet the overtures of Auſtria were obſtinately rejected, though repeated in all manner of forms, and renewed even when the enemy was at their gates, and within two months of their final deſtruction. That they could have preſerved their independence by any courſe of conduct is indeed very doubtful; but, by the courſe they adopted, they obviouſly threw it away. To have done any thing but what they did, would have been excuſeable; and the alliance of Pruſſia, or even of France herſelf, as it was offered in 1796, held out a chance of ſalvation, and would, at any rate, have ſaved the laſt ſcene of the republic from that general contempt and opprobrium with which ſhe covered herſelf by her puſillanimity and folly. Upon the whole, when we review the cauſes which remotely prepared her deſtruction, as well as the circumſtances which immediately led to it, we cannot help feeling that ſhe deſerved the fate which befel her. Her race of glory was run, and her race of ſhame. There was nothing about her to command reſpect, or to win affection; and though the violence and perfidy which were the inſtruments of her deſtruction are the juſt objects of our abhorrence, theſe ſentiments are not in any degree enhanced in this inſtance by compaſſion for their victim.

The title of the ſecond work prefixed to this article, appears to be pretty well ſupported by the contents of the performance. As far as we can judge, from comparing the ſtatements it contains with the ſubſtance of the official documents, the facts are given with fairneſs and accuracy; and the tone and temper of the editor and of the author are very nearly of the ſame complexion. The ſame reprobation of the Venetian government, the ſame attachment to the ancient order of things in Venice, characterize both productions. But they differ ſufficiently to authorize a conjecture, that they do not proceed from the ſame pen. The Engliſh author is ſatisfied with the introduction of explanatory notes, and a few occaſional reflections, while the original is devoted almoſt as much to political reflections, as to hiſtorical narrative. Many of the faults in the original work, Mr Hinckley has carefully tranſfuſed into the tranſlation. The pompous inflated periods of the Italian aſſume a correſponding Engliſh garb, though the liberty of ſimplification might have been reſorted to without injury, either to the ſenſe or the ſtyle of the tranſlation. Several words, indeed, are not tranſlated at all, but preſented in their original form; ſuch as, 'the *fautors* of revolutions'—'the *pouvoir exécutif*.' Indeed, if the tranſlation had been leſs literal, it might have gained conſiderably in ſpirit and ſimplicity; and any deficiency in

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mere literal fidelity, might have been well ſupplied by the advantage of additional eaſe and elegance of ſtyle. Notwithſtanding theſe defects, however, the peruſal of this little performance will excite a conſiderable degree of intereſt.

We have already extended this article ſo far, that we have only room to inſert an extract from the work before us, to explain the nature of an overture which we have already alluded to in paſſing, and which affords unqueſtionable proof of the baſeneſs and venality of a member of the French Executive Directory. It is to be recollected, that the overture was made to Querini, the Venetian ambaſſador in Paris, and tranſmitted by him to his government. Theſe magnanimous neutrals were pleaſed to approve of the propoſition, and ſolemnly gave it in charge to their ambaſſador, to ſave the republic,—by the offer of a ſordid bribe to the Director Barras. The following paſſage conciſely ſtates this diſgraceful tranſaction, which is explained at conſiderable length in the *Raccolta*, &c.

'An intriguer came one day to the ambaſſador Querini, and communicated, that two of the Directors oppoſed the revolution of Venice; that two others ſupported it; that Barras was as yet undecided; and that, if a liberal reward were given to him, the balance would be turned in favour of the integrity of the republic. Querini replied, that, whenever the revolted provinces ſhould be reſtored to the Venetian government, they would agree to make the required ſacrifice. The agent departed, and ſoon after brought the ambaſſador an anſwer, that a conſiderable preſent being firſt given, the requiſite inſtructions would be ſent to Bonaparte. A thouſand ſhameful quibbles ſucceeded this ſpecies of arrangement, till, after various ſhifts and changes, Barras ſent an authentic declaration under the ſeal of the Directory, aſſuring Querini, that inſtructions had been ſent to Bonaparte in conformity to all he had requeſted. In conſideration of this favour, it was expected he ſhould give notes for 700,000 livres tournois, payable in thirty days. To this he conſented, and the Venetian government afterwards approved it. The contract, however, was never performed; but, on the contrary, an order of the Executive Directory compelled the ambaſſador ſuddenly to depart from France. He returned home; and, after the fall of the republic, theſe notes were preſented to him for payment out of his private fortune. This he refuſed, the conditions not having been fulfilled on which they were given. The buſineſs was ſuppoſed to have been dropped, when, on the 3d of December 1797, he was ſuddenly arreſted, and, by command of the Directory, ſent to the caſtle of Milan; from whence, toward the end of March, he was ordered to prepare for a journey to Paris; but, fortunately, on the 30th of that month, he contrived to eſcape, and thus evaded the unjuſt demand.' p. 125.

Before cloſing this article, we ought to obſerve, that the value of the Raccolta chronologico-ragionata, is not to be eſtimated merely by

by the authentic information it contains relative to the occurrences which produced the ſubverſion of the Venetian republic; for it alſo comprizes a large body of very curious and important intelligence, on many of the leading events of the French revolution. The deſpatches of the Venetian ambaſſadors, who reſided in Paris during the moſt eventful periods of that revolution, may be regarded as documents of much intrinſic hiſtorical value. Thoſe, too, of the Venetian reſidents at the other European courts, which are alſo included in this collection, will be found by no means unintereſting to the diligent inquirer into hiſtorical truth. To the attention of the profeſſed hiſtorian, it is unneceſſary to recommend theſe ſtate papers. Their authenticity, we believe, is undiſputed: and they relate to a period, many of the tranſactions of which are ſtill involved in great obſcurity.

ART. VII. *The Bakerian Lecture on ſome new Phenomena of Chemical Changes produced by Electricity, particularly the Decompoſition of the Fixed Alkalis, and the Exhibition of new Subſtances which conſtitute their Bases, and on the general nature of Alkaline Bodies.* By Humphry Davy, Eſq. Sec. R. S. M. R. I. A. (from Phil. Trans. Part I. for 1808.)

IN a former article, (Number XXIII), we laid before our readers an account of the very intereſting courſe of experiments which Mr Davy had made upon the mutual actions of galvanic electricity and chemical bodies; and we hinted, that it was generally underſtood, that in purſuing the ſame train of inveſtigation, this ingenious and indefatigable inquirer had made ſome of the moſt wonderful and important diſcoveries which modern times have to boaſt of. It now gives us infinite ſatisfaction to fulfil the promiſe which we then made, of recurring to the ſubject as ſoon as poſſible, and continuing our hiſtory of this excellent chemiſt's proceedings. He has detailed them very minutely in the paper now before us, which we conſider as the moſt valuable in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, ſince the time when Sir Iſaac Newton inſerted, in that celebrated collection, the firſt account of his optical diſcoveries. We certainly do by no means intend to compare the two works for their general importance, and much leſs for their merits. Newton created his tools, as well as the ſyſtem which he reared by their aid. Chance had nothing to do with his labours. He did not merely try things to ſee what would follow; he was carried on by the moſt ſubtle ingenuity, and a ſagacity never beſtowed on any other man, through a chain of reaſoning

reasoning and observation, which, had he stopt at any point, no man, whatever his industry might have been, could have continued one step further. Mr Davy owes much to his indefatigable industry, and his knowledge of the subject; but he owes a great deal more to the powerful instrument which former discoveries put into his hands. Any man possessed of his habits of labour, and the excellent apparatus of the Royal Institution, could have almost ensured himself a plentiful harvest of discovery. And, while no one can read a single proposition in either of Sir Isaac Newton's great works, without being stopped at every turn to admire the transcendant genius of the author, it is very possible to read Mr Davy's whole paper, and admit that he has made greater discoveries than any man has done since the days of Newton,—and yet to find nothing which deserves the name of genius in the whole compass of the investigation. We throw out these things from no invidious motive, but merely from a desire to reduce things to their proper level, and just proportions; and to qualify a little of that excessive admiration which has lately been excited by Mr Davy's discovery, not unnaturally, we confess, but very extravagantly, and, as usually happens in such cases, to the great detriment of sober inquiry.

In describing the result of Mr Davy's last course of experiments, (which, by the way, though it led to less remarkable results, showed more ingenuity and dexterity than the present), we explained the very singular property of Galvanism, which these experiments brought to light. It appeared that, when the electric fluid is sent through a circle, in which part of the circuit is a compound of acid and alkali, a decomposition takes place, the acid always being transferred towards the positive part of the chain, the negative part attracting the alkali. A certain affinity seemed always to subsist between oxygen and the positive electricity, and an inflammable basis and the negative side. The effects of the fluid in operating decomposition, were proportioned to the strength of the opposite electricities, and to the concentration and conducting power of the compound body. With these *data*, furnished chiefly by his former experiments, our author proceeded to subject the fixed alkalis to the most intense action of the galvanic pile.

He first tried an aqueous solution, made as strong as possible. This he exposed to the combined action of three great batteries, one of 24 plates of 12 inches square, another of 100 plates of 6 inches, and the third of 150 of 4 inches, being a total of almost 1500 inches of metallic plates. But, although this produced a great action, it only decomposed the water with violent heat and effervescence. He then tried the alkalis fused by heat, and without

out success; for it seemed evident, that the fusion and action must come both at once from the electricity. Accordingly, having slightly moistened the surface of perfectly dry potash, so as to render it a conductor, he placed it on an insulated disc of platina, connected with the negative wire, and placed the positive wire upon the upper surface of the potash. A remarkable action now ensued; the salt fused at the wires, at the lower surface, without any effervescence; but, at the upper, with violent effervescence. At the lower surface, however, small globules like quicksilver were perceived to emerge, as the process went on, and many of them burnt with explosion and a bright flame; others, without explosion, became soon covered with a white crust on continuing exposed to the action of the air. The same phenomena were produced, when, instead of platina, other metals, as copper, gold, &c. were used, or plumbago, and even charcoal. The metallic globules, therefore, had nothing to do with the disc or wire employed; and the experiment was equally independent of the air, for it succeeded just as well in an exhausted receiver. Soda, when treated in like manner, exhibited similar results; but it was more stubborn, and required a much stronger electrical action. The globules too obtained from it were neither so fusible nor so inflammable; they were melted and burnt, however, by the heat produced in the course of the experiment. In both cases, the gas evolved at the upper or positive surface of the alkali, was found to be pure oxygen gas; nor was any given out at the negative surface, where the globules were formed, unless a superabundance of water existed there. When, on the other hand, one of the metallic globules was exposed, either to common air or oxygen gas, containing moisture in solution, a white film speedily was formed, which attracted moisture as it increased in thickness, and in a short time the whole globule was converted into this film, and dissolved. The solution from the potash globules was always found to be pure potash; those from the other, pure soda. When the air in which the globules are exposed is perfectly free from moisture, the process goes on imperfectly; for the crust which is first formed, remaining solid, defends the interior of the globule from the action of the air. When heat is applied, and the globules are exposed to oxygen gas in a close tube, they burn with great rapidity, and a brilliant white flame; the gas is absorbed; no other gas given out; and the oxyde which remains is a pure alkali.

Such is the decisive and most satisfactory evidence by which it is ascertained that the fixed alkalis are compounds of oxygen and metallic bases, or that they are in truth metallic oxydes. The metals are substances hitherto quite unknown to chemistry; and

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Mr Davy, as might easily be imagined, lost no time in examining their peculiar properties. It is unnecessary to detail the various experiments which he has made for this purpose. We shall only follow him over the heads of this extensive and interesting subject. Our author first describes the properties of the base of potash; next, those of the base of soda; and then he investigates the proportions in which the oxydes, that is, the two alkalis, contain their metallic bases and oxygen. We shall reverse this order and consider the proportions in the compositions first.

In order to ascertain the proportion of oxygen to metal in the alkalis, Mr Davy employed this form of experiment. He introduced a small tray of gold, silver, and platina, into a tube connected at one end with a pneumatic apparatus and gazometer, and at the other drawn to a point, but suffered to remain open. Upon the tray, metallic globules of known weight were placed; the tube was filled with oxygen until the whole common air was expelled; it was then hermetically sealed at both ends; and heat being applied to the glass near the tray, the globule was burnt. The tube was then opened under water, or mercury, and the absorption ascertained. According to the result of one experiment, made with great accuracy, 100 grains of potash contains 86.7 of metal, and 13.3 of oxygen. And, according to another trial of the same kind, 100 grains contains 85.5 of metal, and 14.5 of oxygen; the mean of the two being 86.1 of metal and 13.9 of oxygen. Soda, in like manner, consists of 80 grains metal, and 20 oxygen, in 100 of alkali. The decomposition of water by the metallic bases, afforded another approximation. This gave, for potash, 84 parts metal to 16 oxygen, in the hundred; and for soda, 76 *per cent.* metal and 24 *per cent.* oxygen. Comparing these leading experiments with the mean results of a variety of others, our author infers, as a general medium of the whole, that potash contains about *six* parts of metal to *one* of oxygen; and soda about *seven* parts of metal to *two* of oxygen.

In examining the properties of the new bodies which these brilliant discoveries make us acquainted with, no small difficulty is experienced from their violent attraction for the constituent parts of almost all other substances. For oxygen in particular, (and almost every substance contains it), they have so infinitely greater an affinity than any other bodies hitherto discovered, that they not only become speedily oxydated, and changed back again to alkalis in the open air, but even in almost every fluid in which they are plunged for the purpose of preserving them. After repeated trials, Mr Davy found that naphtha, recently distilled, answered his object better than any thing else; and the globules, when taken from thence, were covered with a thin transparent film

film of the fluid, which defended them from the action of the air, and at the same time allowed an accurate examination of their physical qualities. We shall first notice the qualities of the basis of potash. It resembles mercury so exactly in its appearances, that it is not possible to distinguish by the eye a globule of the one metal from a globule of the other, when they are laid together. The fluidity of the potash metal, at the temperature of 60°, is considerably smaller than that of mercury; but at 100° its fluidity is perfect; at 50° it is malleable, and at 32° is chrystallized. It is an excellent conductor of electricity, and requires a red heat to distil it, that process not at all altering it. Its specific gravity is its most singular property. At 40° of Fahrenheit it swims in naphtha, the lightest of fluids; its specific gravity is to that of water as six to ten; it is, therefore, by much the lightest fluid in nature. When combined with an undue proportion of oxygen, it forms a grey substance, which, when fluid, is red brown. This is formed by fusing dry potash with the metallic base; and exposure to the air giving it the complement of oxygen, brings it all back again to the state of potash. When introduced into oxy-muriatic acid gas, it burns spontaneously with a bright flame, and makes muriate of potash. In hydrogen gas, with heat, it dissolves; the compound gas explodes upon exposure to common air, and deposits the metal on cooling. When thrown into water at the common temperature, it instantaneously deflagrates; and a white ring of smoke frequently follows the flame, as in the combustion of phosphurets. When the water is in a close vessel, and there is no contact of air, the decomposition is equally rapid, but without light, and pure hydrogen gas is evolved. A globule, placed upon ice, burns with a bright flame, leaving a hole in it full of solution of potash. It discovers and decompounds the smallest portions of water, in alcohol and ether, even when previously purified with the greatest care. In sulphuric acid, it rapidly seizes upon the oxygen, leaving sulphur half oxydated, and sulphate of potash. In nitrous acid, it forms nitrate of potash, and evolves nitrous gas. With phosphorus and sulphur, it forms phosphurets and sulphurets, which, on exposure to the air, become phosphats and sulphats. It amalgamates with mercury; and the amalgam being exposed to the air, potash is formed, and the mercury left pure. With other metals it unites also, and the compound being thrown into water, is speedily decomposed; potash and hydrogen being formed, and the metal precipitated. It decomposes the watery particles, or the air, which are found in oils long exposed, and precipitates a brown soap. It readily acts upon glass, forming an imperfect oxyde with the alkali, which, by degrees, is fully alkalized when exposed to the air.

In

In many of its essential properties, the basis of soda resembles the very singular metal which we have just now described. But it is considerably less fusible, and its specific gravity is greater. It melts at 120° of Fahrenheit, and is quite fluid at 180°. Its specific gravity is to that of water as *nine* to *ten* nearly. It decompounds air and water, but without any luminous appearance. It acts on the acids in the same way, but without any light, except on the nitrous acid. In other respects it exactly resembles the basis of potash.

Having detailed the properties of the two new metals, and their manner of combining with oxygen so as to form the fixed alkalis, the ingenious author proceeds to offer some general observations on what he terms the relations of those metals to other bodies; by which it turns out, that he only means to discuss the point of their classification and nomenclature. He firsts asks, whether they should be considered as metals or not? And having very properly determined this in the affirmative, notwithstanding their small specific gravity, which, as he observes, is not a sufficient reason for neglecting their various metallic properties, he names them *Potasium* and *Sodium*,—names, as he remarks himself, more significant than elegant; but we are greatly relieved at finding them no worse. A report had reached us, of *Sodagen* and *Potagen* having been propounded by high chemical authority. It was even hinted that Mr Tennant leaned towards such a nomenclature; and persons were not wanting who apprehended, that, in this courtly age, some terms might be introduced complimentary to the best of Sovereigns, and the purity of church establishments. We well knew no such thing was ever long listened to by the discoverer himself, whose political sentiments are as free and as manly as if he had never inhaled the atmosphere of the Royal Institution. But it was well to be relieved from all such alarms by the event; and having accidentally gotten upon a point, in which science is sometimes disgracefully blended with politics, let us make a step further to express our abhorrence of the spirit in which some sycophants have lately dared to profane the commonwealth of letters, by the introduction of courtly and national prejudices. It is understood, that the French Sovereign has, either by himself, or through the Institute, awarded a prize to Mr Davy for his wonderful discoveries; and some men have been time-serving enough to cry out against his accepting honours from the '*merciless foe*,'—'*the usurper*,'—'*the enemy of civilized society*,' and we know not how many other names. We have always kept in the view of our readers, that the commonwealth of science is of no party, and of no nation. It is a pure republic; and it is always at peace. Its shades are disturbed neither by domestic

malice nor foreign levy. They resound with no cries of factions, or of public animosity. Falsehood is the only enemy their inhabitants ever pursue;—Truth, and her minister, Reason, the only leaders there followed; and they who would break the equality, or disturb the tranquillity of those sacred haunts, deserve to be chased out of civilized society, as aiming at the destruction of the only pure, dignified, innocent feature—the only remnant of the Divine origin—which bad passions have left in the character and conduct of men.

Having ascertained, that oxygen formed the common principle in the fixed alkalis, Mr Davy was disposed to question whether it did not also exist in ammonia, although no notice had been taken of it; and upon attending to the experiments of Berthollet and others, by which ammonia was decomposed, he saw no reason to conclude that oxygen might not exist there in a small proportion, and disappear, by forming water in the course of the process. He therefore commenced a series of experiments which speedily removed all doubt on this head. Having prepared a perfectly pure piece of charcoal, he ignited it in a small quantity of perfectly pure ammoniacal gas, by a galvanic battery; and a substance was collected on the sides of the tube, which effervesced with muriatic acid, and was probably carbonate of ammonia. Pure ammoniacal gas was then passed over ignited iron wire, in a platina tube; the gas being first passed through a refrigeratory, before touching the wire, and then through another refrigeratory, after it had gone over the wire, and before it reached the last receiver. No moisture was formed in the first refrigeratory; but a sensible quantity of water was deposited in the second. After passing and repassing the gas frequently over the wire, the wire had gained $\frac{44}{100}$ parts of a grain; $\frac{4}{10}$ths of a grain of water were deposited; and 33.8 cubic inches of gas were expanded into 55.3, containing a mixture of hydrogen and nitrogen gases, in the proportion of 3.2 to 1. in volume. By other experiments on the decomposition of ammonia, in which some loss is always found after collecting the hydrogen and nitrogen gases, Mr Davy infers, that it contains about *seven* or *eight per cent.* of oxygen. This body may therefore, as he observes, be considered as the principle of alkalescence; with as much reason as the French have made it the principle of acidity.

This very valuable paper concludes with some general remarks and notices respecting the alkaline earths. Analogy would lead one naturally to suspect, that they are similar to the alkalis in their constitution. In the communication now before us, Mr Davy has only mentioned the results of some experiments which tend to verify this conjecture, in the cases of barytes and strontites.

tites. When these bodies are heated red hot, and combined with a very small quantity of boracic acid (without which they are not conductors), the galvanic battery produces an evolution of inflammable matter, which burns with a deep red light at the negative surface. The heat prevented Mr Davy from collecting this substance; but there can be little doubt of its being the basis of the earths. Further experiments have, we understand, enabled Mr Davy, since the date of this paper, both to decompose, in a satisfactory manner, the two earths in question; and also to show, that the other alkaline earths are oxydes of highly combustible metals. We hope soon to see the history of those researches; and can scarcely entertain any doubt, that other bodies, hitherto deemed simple, or, if suspected to be compound, yet never analyzed, will speedily yield to the powers either of the highly inflammable metals now discovered, or of that most singular agent by which this discovery has been made. Mr Davy has already decomposed carbonic acid by means of those metals; and has oxydated them by muriatic acid, though without collecting the results. We are sure every chemist now expects to see this acid, as well as the fluoric, soon classed under the general law of oxydation, applicable to all other saline bodies. It is by no means improbable that charcoal itself, hitherto regarded as the most refractory of all substances, may be decomposed by the new instruments; and that the means of obtaining it pure, and even chrystallized, shall at last be found;—a discovery which, as our readers well know, would enable art to vie with nature in the fabrication of her most valuable produce.

Until we have the good fortune to possess Mr Davy's account of his recent experiments on the alkaline earths, we must defer all remarks suggested by the brilliant train of discoveries analyzed in the foregoing pages. The season for theorizing will come best, after we have still further extended our view of the facts.

ART. VIII. *The Cottagers of Glenburnie: a Tale, &c.* By Elizabeth Hamilton, Author of the Elementary Principles of Education, Memoirs of Modern Philosophers, &c. &c. 8vo. pp. 402. Manners & Miller, Edinburgh; Cadell & Davies, London. 1808.

WE have not met with any thing nearly so good as this, since we read the Castle Rackrent and the Popular Tales of Miss Edgeworth. This contains as admirable a picture of the Scotish peasantry as those works do of the Irish; and rivals them,

not only in the general truth of the delineations, and in the cheerfulness and practical good sense of the lessons which they convey, but in the nice discrimination of national character, and the skill with which a dramatic representation of humble life is saved from caricature and absurdity.

After having given this just and attractive description of the book, we have a sort of malicious pleasure in announcing to our Southern readers, that it is a sealed book to them; and that, until they take the trouble thoroughly to familiarize themselves with our antient and venerable dialect, they will not be able to understand three pages of it. To such as are engaged in that interesting study, we recommend it as a specimen of the purest and most characteristic Scotch which we have lately met with in writing; and have much satisfaction in thinking of the singular refreshment and delight which it must afford to our worthy countrymen abroad, by setting before them, in such clear and lively colours, those simple and peculiar manners with which their youth was familiar. This sentimental purpose it may serve well enough in its present form; but if Mrs Hamilton really wishes it to be of use to our peasants at home, (and we think it is capable of being very useful), she must submit to strike out all the scenes in upper life, and to print the remainder upon coarse paper, at such a price as may enable the volume to find its way into the cottage library. In order to encourage her to take this trouble, and to make the book known to the clergymen and resident proprietors who have it in their power to introduce it where it may be of use, we shall make a short abstract of its contents,—giving due warning to our polite readers, that it relates to the comforts of real cottagers, and the best methods of rearing honest ploughmen and careful nursery-maids.

Mrs Mason, a native of Scotland, and a person of great worth and discretion, had lived long as a domestic in a noble and amiable family in England, where she had rendered herself unusually respectable by her faithful and zealous services. Having quitted this situation with a very slender annuity, she is naturally led to seek a retirement in her native country; and proposes to board herself with a cousin, who, she understands, is married to a small-farmer in the vicinity of her birth-place. To Glenburnie, accordingly, she comes, under the protection of a worthy gentleman in the neighbourhood; and takes up her residence with her cousin Mrs MacClarty. Here the interest and the instruction of the description begin. Her habits of cleanliness and domestic order make her more than usually sensible of the slovenliness and discomfort of a Scotish cottage; and her long experience of the benefits of early steadiness in the management of children, render her

her more alive to the pernicious effects of indulgence and inattention. The object of the book is to make our peasantry sensible of their errors in these particulars; and to convince them with how little exertion they may be remedied. The picture of their actual practices and notions is drawn, as we have already said, with admirable liveliness and fidelity, and without any attempt to produce effect by the broad glare of exaggeration. Full credit is given for their real merits; and, even when their faults are displayed, the amiable or respectable traits in their character are brought forward along with them. Mrs MacClarty, who is the chief representative of the Scotish party, is extremely good tempered, active, and indulgent to her children; but altogether insensible of the disadvantages of dirtiness, and attached to old ways with so narrow and obstinate a bigotry, as to resent all attempts at the most obvious improvements. So she not only keeps her hands unwashed, and her butter full of hairs, but allows her children to take their own way so entirely in every thing, that her eldest son gets drunk and enlists, and her husband dies of a fever caught in striving to deliver him, and of the suffocation occasioned by his wife's over-care of him. After a long and patient experiment, Mrs Mason finds her kinswoman incurable; and, quite disgusted with the filth and discord of her habitation, transfers her residence to the cottage of another villager, to whom she speedily communicates her own taste for neatness and regularity; and, having got the clergyman to concur with her in his appointment as schoolmaster, gradually introduces a reformation in the domestic economy and education of the whole neighbourhood.

There is no great merit, of course, in the *plan* of such a story; and of the execution, excellent as it is, we scarcely think it would be fair to give any considerable specimen, considering the small number of readers to whom the language can be intelligible. However, as we sometimes take the liberty to quote a page or two of Latin and Italian, we shall venture upon a few sentences, for the satisfaction of those who can judge of them. We may begin with Mrs Mason's *début* in the Glen. She and her conductor are suddenly stopped, by finding a wooden bridge on the road broken down, and a cart overturned beside it. While they are contemplating this scene of disaster, they suddenly hear—

—'a child's voice in the hollow exclaiming, "Come on, ye muckle brute! ye had as weel come on! I'll gar ye! I'll gar ye! That's a gude beast now; come awa! That's it! Ay, ye're a gude beast now." As the last words were uttered, a little fellow of about ten years of age was seen issuing from the hollow, and pulling after him, with all his might, a great long-backed clumsy animal of the horse species, though apparently of a very mulish temper. "You have met

with a sad accident," said Mr Stewart; "how did all this happen?" "You may see how it happened, plain eneugh," returned the boy; "the brig brak, and the cart couppet." "And did you and the horse coup likewise?" said Mr Stewart. "O aye, we a' couppet thegether, for I was riding on his back." "And where is your father, and all the rest of the folk?" "Whar sud they be but in the hay-field? Dinna ye ken that we're taking in our hay? John Tamson's and Jamie Forster's was in a wook syne, but we're ay ahint the lave." All the party were greatly amused by the composure which the young peasant evinced under his misfortune, as well as by the shrewdness of his answers; and having learned from him, that the hay-field was at no great distance, gave him some halfpence to hasten his speed, and promised to take care of his horse till he should return with assistance. He soon appeared, followed by his father, and two other men, who came on, stepping at their usual pace. "Why, farmer," said Mr Stewart, "you have trusted rather too long to this rotten plank, I think," (pointing to where it had given way), "If you remember the last time I passed this road, which was several months since, I then told you that the bridge was in danger, and showed you how easily it might be repaired?" "It is aw true," said the farmer, moving his bonnet; "but I thought it would do weel enough. I spoke to Jamie Forster and John Tamson about it; but they said they wad na fash themselves to mend a brig that was to serve a' the folk in the Glen." "But you must now mend it for your own sake," said Mr Stewart, "even though *a the folk in the Glen* should be the better for it. Bring down the planks that I saw lying in the barn-yard, and which, though you have been obliged to step over them every day since the stack they propped was taken in, have never been lifted. You know what I mean." "O yes, Sir," said the farmer, grinning, "we ken what ye mean weel eneugh; and indeed I may ken, for I have fallen thrice ow're them since they lay there; and often said they sud be set by, but we *cow'dna be fashed.*" p. 130—133.

This is an out-of-doors picture. In their way into the house, they had to wade through a kind of dunghill and filthy pool that was collected opposite to the door, and then stumbled over a great iron pot, *in* which a whole brood of chickens were feeding, in the dark passage. On their arrival,

'Mrs Mason soon saw, that the place they were in served in the triple capacity of kitchen, parlour, and bedroom. Its furniture was suitably abundant. It consisted, on one side, of a dresser, over which were shelves filled with plates and dishes, which she supposed to be of pewter; but they had been so bedimmed by the quantities of flies that sat upon them, that she could not pronounce with certainty as to the metal they were made of. On the shelf that projected immediately next the dresser, was a number of delf and wooden bowls, of different dimensions, with horn spoons, &c. These, though

though arranged with apparent care, did not entirely conceal from view the dirty nightcaps, and other articles, that were stuffed in behind. Opposite the fire-place were two beds, each enclosed in a sort of wooden closet, so firmly built as to exclude the entrance of a breath of air, except in front, where were small folding doors, which were now open, and exhibited a quantity of yarn hung up in bunches, affording proof of the goodwife's husbandry. The portable furniture, as chairs, tables, &c., were all, though clumsy, of good materials; so that Mrs Mason thought the place wanted nothing but a little attention to neatness, and some more light, to render it tolerably comfortable. When the tea was about to be made, Mrs MacClarty stepped to a huge Dutch press, and having, with some difficulty, opened the leaves, took from a store of nice linen, which it presented to their view, a fine damask napkin, of which she begged her to make use. "You have a noble stock of linen, cousin," said Mrs Mason. "Few farmers houses in England could produce the like; but I think this is rather too fine for common use." "For common use!" cried Mrs MacClarty; "na, na, we're no sic fools as put our napery to use! I have a dizen table-claiths in that press therty years old, that were never laid upon a table. They are a' o' my mother's spinning. I have nine o' my ain makin' forby, that never saw the sun but at the bookin washing. Ye need na be telling us of England!" "It is no doubt a good thing," said Mrs Mason, "to have a stock of goods of any kind, provided one has a prospect of turning them to account; but I confess I think the labour unprofitably employed, which during thirty years is to produce no advantage; and that linen of an inferior quality would be preferable, as it would certainly be more useful. A towel of nice clean huck-a-back would wipe a cup as well, and better, than a damask napkin." "Towels!" cried Mrs MacClarty, "na, na, we manna pretend to towels; we just wipe up the things wi' what comes in the gait." On saying this, the good woman, to show how exactly she practised what she spoke, pulled out from between the seed-tub, and her husband's dirty shoes (which stood beneath the bench by the fire-side), a long blackened rag, and with it rubbed one of the pewter plates, with which she stepped into the closet for a roll of butter.' p. 143—146.

The butter was full of hairs: and poor Mrs Mason's room littered with new shorn wool, hung with cobwebs, and without a window that could be opened. Her morning adventures, however, are more characteristic of the people.

'She awoke late; and on perceiving, when about half dressed, that she had in her room neither water nor hand-bason to wash in, she threw on her dimity bedgown, and went out to the kitchen, to procure a supply of these necessary articles. She there found Meg and Jean; the former standing at the table, from which the porridge-dishes seemed to have been just removed; the latter killing

flies at the window. Mrs Mason addressed herself to Meg, and after a courteous good-morrow, asked her where she should find a hand-bason? "I dinna ken," said Meg, drawing her finger through the milk that had been spilled upon the table. "Where is your mother?" asked Mrs Mason. "I dinna ken," returned Meg, continuing to dabble her hands through the remaining fragments of the feast. "If you are going to clean that table," said Mrs Mason, "you will give yourself more work than you need, by daubing it all over with the porridge; bring your cloth, and I shall show you how I learned to clean our tables when I was a girl like you." Meg continued to make lines with her fore finger. "Come," said Mrs Mason, "shall I teach you?" "Na," said Meg, "I sal dight nane o't. I'm gain' to the schul." "But that need not hinder you to wipe up the table before you go," said Mrs Mason. "You might have cleaned it up as bright as a looking-glass, in the time that you have spent in spattering it, and dirtying your fingers. Would it not be pleasanter for you to make it clean, than to leave it dirty." "I'll no be at the fash," returned Meg, making off to the door as she spoke. Before she got out, she was met by her mother, who, on seeing her, exclaimed, "Are ye no awa yet bairns? I never saw the like. Sic a fight to get you to the schul! Nae wonner ye learn little, whan you'r at it. Gae awa like good bairns; for there's nae schulin the morn ye ken, its the fair day." Meg set off after some further parley; but Jean continued to catch the flies at the window, taking no notice of her mother's exhortations, though again repeated in pretty nearly the same terms. "Dear me!" said the mother, "what's the matter wi' the bairn! what for winna ye gang, when Meg's gane? Rin, and ye'll be after her or she wins to the end o' the loan." "I'm no ga'an the day," says Jean, turning away her face. "And wharfor are no ye ga'an, my dear?" says her mother. "Cause I hinna gotten my questions," replied Jean. "O, but ye may gang for a' that," said her mother; "the maister will no be angry. Gang, like a good bairn." "Na," said Jean, "but he will be angry, for I did no get it the last time either." "And wharfor did na ye get it, my dear," said Mrs MacClarty in a soothing tone. "Cause 'twas unco kittle, and *I cou'd no be fashed;*" replied the hopeful girl, catching as she spoke another handful of flies.' p. 164—167.

Mrs Mason then makes some moral observations on disobedience, and renews her application for the means of ablution.

'"Dear me," replied Mrs MacClarty, "I'm sure you're weel eneugh. Your hands ha' nae need of washing, I trow. Ye ne'er do a turn to file them." "You can't surely be in earnest," replied Mrs Mason. "Do you think I could sit down to breakfast with unwashed hands? I never heard of such a thing, and never saw it done in my life." "I see nae gude o' sic nicity," returned her friend; "but its easy to gie ye water eneugh, though I'm sure

I dinna ken what to put it in, unless ye tak ane o' the porridge plates: or may be the calf's luggie may do better, for it 'ill gie you eneugh o' room." "Your own bason will do better than either," said Mrs Mason. "Give me the loan of it for this morning, and I shall return it immediately, as you must doubtless often want it through the day." "Na, na," returned Mrs MacClarty, "I dinna fash wi' sae mony fykes. There's ay water standing in some thing or other, for ane to ca their hands through when they're blacket. The gudeman indeed is a wee conceity like yoursel', an' he coft a brown bason for his shaving in on Saturdays, but its in use a' the week haddin' milk, or I'm sure ye'd be welcome to it. I sal see an' get it ready for you the morn." ' p. 170, 171.

These scenes are little more than ludicrous. The mismanagement of these good people, however, soon produces effects more seriously distressing; and these, too, are drawn by Mrs Hamilton with great effect and discrimination. Hearing a violent noise of quarrelling, Mrs Mason advances to inquire into the cause of it.

' The voices stopped; and proceeding, she saw the farmer hastily unsaddling a horse; and the son at the same moment issuing from the door, but pulled back by his mother, who held the skirt of his coat, saying, "I tell ye, Sandie, ye manna gang to anger your father." "But I sal gang," cried Sandie, in a sullen tone. "I winna be hindered. I sal gang, I tell ye, whether my father likes or no." "Ye may gang, ye door loon," says the father; "but if ye do, ye sal repent it as lang as ye live." Hoot na," returned the mother, "ye'll forgie' him; and ye had as weel let him gang, for ye see he winna be hindered!" "Where is the young man for going to?" asked Mrs Mason. "Where sud he be for gain' to, but to the fair?" returned the mother; "its only natural. But our gudeman's unco particular, and never lets the lads get ony daffin." "Daffin!" cried the farmer; "is Druckenness daffin? Did na he gang last year, and come hame as drunk as a beast? And ye wad have him tak the brown mare too, without ever spearing my leave! saddled and bridled too, forsooth, like ony gentleman in the land! But ye sal baith repent it: I tell ye, ye'se repent it." "O, I did na ken o' the mare," said the too easy mother. "But is it possible," said Mrs Mason, addressing herself to the young man, "is it possible that you should think of going to any place, in direct opposition to your father's will? I thought you would have been better acquainted with your duty, than to break the commands of God, by treating your parents in such a manner." "I am sure he has been weel taught," said the mother; "but I kenna how it is, our bairns never mind a word we say!" "But he will mind you," said Mrs Mason, "and set a better example of obedience to his brothers and sisters, than he is now doing. Come, I must reconcile all parties. Will you not give me your hand?" "I'll no' stay frae the fair for naebody," said the sullen youth, endeavouring

deavouring to pass; "a' the folk in the Glen are gain', and I'll gang too, say what ye wull." Mrs Mason scarcely believed it possible that he could be so very hardy, until she saw him set off with sullen and determined step, followed by his mother's eye, who, on seeing him depart, exclaimed, "Hegh me! ye're an unco laddie."

'The farmer appeared to feel more deeply, but he said nothing. Grasping the mane of the mare, he turned to lead her down the road to his fields, and had advanced a few steps, when his wife called after him, to inquire what he was going to do with the saddle, which he carried on his shoulders? Do wi' it!" repeated he, "I have naething to do wi' it!" Then dashing it on the ground, he proceeded with quickened pace down the steep. "Wae's me!" said Mrs MacClarty, "the gudeman taks Sandie's doorness mickle to heart!"' p. 195—198.

The dying scene of the worthy rustic, is described with great feeling and effect, and at the same time with a scrupulous attention to the peculiarities of national habits. The funeral is equally good. The crowd of sincere mourners feeding in the house and the barn,—the hoary headed elders bearing the corpse, and the decent farmers coming in from a distance to follow it to the grave. But it is more to our purpose, to trace the effects of Mrs Mason's exertions to overcome rooted prejudices.

'"Aye!" exclaimed the wife of auld John Smith, who happened to visit the widow the first evening she was able to sit up to tea, "aye, alake! it's weel seen, that whar there's new lairds there's new laws. But how can your woman and your bairns put up wi' a' this fashery?" "I kenna, truly," replied the widow; "but Mrs Mason has just sic a way wi' them, she gars them do ony thing she likes. Ye may think it is an eery thing to me, to see my poor bairns submitting that way to pleasure a strainger in a' her nonsense." "An eery thing, indeed!" said Mrs Smith; "gif' ye had but seen how she gard your dochter Meg clean out the kirn! outside and inside! ye wad hae been wae for the poor lassie. I trow, said I, Meg, it wad ha' been lang before your mither had set you to sic a turn? Aye, says she, we have new gaits now, and she looket up and leugh." "New gaits, I trow!" cried Sandy Johnstone's mother, who had just taken her place at the tea-table; "I ne'er kend gude come o' new gaits a' my days. There was Tibby Bell, at the head o' the Glen, she fell to cleaning her kirn ae day, and the very first kirning after, her butter was burstet, and gude for naething. I am sure it gangs to my heart to see your wark sae managed. It was but the day before yesterday, that I cam upon madam, as she was haddin' the strainer, as she called it, to Grizzy, desiring her a' the time she poured the milk, to beware of letting in ane o' the cow's hairs that were on her goon. Hoot! says I, cow's hairs are canny, they'll never choak ye." "The fewer of them that are in the butter the better!" says she. "Twa or three hairs are better than the blink

blink o' an ill ee," says I. "The best charm against witchcraft is cleanliness," says she. "I doubt it muckle," says I; "auld ways are aye the best!" "Weel done!" cried Mrs Smith. "I trow ye gae her a screed o' your mind!" p. 260—262.

We cannot afford to console our readers with the counterpart to this picture, in the history of Mrs Mason's more successful efforts in the cottage of the schoolmaster. We give only the final result of them. Poor Mrs MacClarty persisted in deriding her newfangled whimsies, and omitted no opportunity of railing at the schoolmaster's wife, who she said—

'"was now sae saucy as to pretend that she cou'd na' sit down in comfort in a house that was na' clean soopet." She for a time found many among the neighbours who readily acquiesced in her opinions, and joined in her expressions of contempt; but by degrees the strength of her party visibly declined. Those who had their children at school were so sensible of the rapid improvement that had been made in their tempers and manners, as well as in their learning, that they could not help feeling some gratitude to their instructors; and Mrs Mason having instructed the girls in needle-work, without any additional charge, added considerably to their sense of obligation. Even the old women, who during the first summer had most bitterly exclaimed against the pride of innovation, were by mid-winter inclined to alter their tone. How far the flannel waistcoats and petticoats distributed among them, contributed to this change of sentiment, cannot be positively ascertained; but certain it is, that as the people were coming from church the first fine day of the following spring, all stopped a few moments before the schoolhouse, to inhale the fragrance of the sweetbrier, and to admire the beauty of the crocuses, primroses, and violets, which embroidered the borders of the grass-plot. Mrs MacClarty, who, in great disdain, asked auld John Smith's wife "what a' the folks were glowering at?" received for answer, that they were "leuking at the boniest sight in a' the town," pointing at the same time to the spot. "Eh!" returned Mrs MacClarty, "I wonder what the warld will come to at last, since naething can serve the pride o' William Morison, but to hae a flower garden whar' gude Mr Brown's middenstead stood sappy for mony a day! he's a better man than will ever stand on William Morison's shanks." "The flowers are a hantel bonnier than the midden tho', and smell a hantel sweeter too, I trow," returned Mrs Smith. This striking indication of a change of sentiment in the most sturdy stickler for the *gude auld gaits*, foreboded the improvements that were speedily to take place in the village of Glenburnie. The carts, which used formerly to be stuck up on end before every door, were now placed in wattled sheds attached to the gable end of the dwelling, and which were rendered ornamental from their coverings of honey-suckle or ivy. The bright and clear glass of the windows, was seen to advantage peeping through the foliage

foliage of the rose-trees, and other flowering shrubs, that were trimly nailed against the walls. The gardens on the other side were kept with equal care. There the pot-herb flourished. There the goodly rows of bee-hives evinced the effects of the additional nourishment afforded their inhabitants, and shewed that the flowers were of other use besides regaling the sight or smell.' p. 394—398.

It would be extravagant to hope, that the mere perusal of this, or any other narrative, should effect a reformation which it truly represented as having been so laborious. But a strong current of improvement runs at present through all Scotland, and a much smaller impulse than would once have been necessary, will now throw the peasantry within the sphere of its action. Besides, *our* cottagers are reading and reasoning animals; and are more likely perhaps to be moved from their old habits by hints and suggestions which they themselves may glean up from a book, than by the more officious and insulting interference of a living reformer. It does not appear to us altogether visionary, therefore, to expect that some good may actually be done by the circulation of such a work as this among the lower classes of society; and therefore, we earnestly recommend it to Mrs Hamilton to take measures for facilitating its admission into their economical circles. We have not taken any notice of the story of Mrs Mollins; because we do not think it nearly equal in merit and originality to the picture of the cottagers; and with regard to Mrs Mason's own history, we think it is rather long and languid, and would be much improved by abridgement. We would also take the liberty to hint, that this part of the performance rather seems calculated to encourage a feeling of too great servility in the lower ranks, and to be liable, on this account, to a censure which applies with peculiar force to Miss Hannah More's productions in the Cheap Repository. The poor are quite apt enough already to pay at least a due homage to wealth and station; and we really do not think it particularly necessary to inculcate these vassal feelings in Scotland.

ART. IX. *A Voyage to the Demerary; containing a Statistical Account of the Settlements there, and of those of the Essequibo, the Berbice, and other contiguous Rivers of Guiana.* By Henry Bolingbroke, Esq. Deputy Vendue Master at Surinam. Richard Phillips, London. 1808.

MERCIER, in his year 2440, represents it as the perfection of human society for every man to be an author; and describes the citizens of his imaginary commonwealth, as accompanying

panying their wills with a legacy of precepts to posterity, or at least with a handsome anthology of rhimes. This paradise of printers, we are proud to think, is already pretty nearly realized in this happy country. The usurpation of literary rank is become so very universal, that it will shortly be as uncommon not to have written a book, as not to have been taught to write. Not a merchant's clerk now-a-days can cross the seas as supercargo, or exchange his Birmingham razors for silver shaving-basins at Buenos Ayres, but he must print, under the name of a voyage, his captain's log-book, and his own accounts of sales, in order to add the wages of authorship to the profits of his venture. Our inland itinerant traders, we have no doubt, will soon follow the thrifty example; and we shall be entertained with 'Travels for Orders' by every accomplished rider and well-accustomed hawker in Great Britain.

In general, however, we would advise these mercantile literati to digest the plan of their intended publications before they set out. Let them buy and transcribe as much as they please of the books of their predecessors and precursors; but let them compare record with reality, and note carefully the negligences of former observation, and the gnawings of intervening time. Many useful things can be seen and ascertained on the spot, if a man knows what he has to look for; but if, after his return, he first resolves and attempts to describe them, he will often find himself compelled to trust to uncertain recollections, or to rely on suspicious testimony. There is a palpable want of this preliminary preparation in the work before us. It has been put together, as the author tells us in his first paragragh, out of letters written to his family during a seven years residence at Stabroek, but not destined for publication, until he fell in with the literary societies of Norwich, where, no doubt, a book is the necessary passport to distinction. To supply the defects of personal inquiry, and the incorrectness of cursory observation, Dr Bancroft and other writers have been conscientiously consulted; and thus a geographic medley has originated, full rather of long than of lively descriptions, and evincing less solidity of judgment than industry in compilation.

Mr Bolingbroke's title is a misnomer. His *voyage* to the Demerary is despatched in the first chapter; and records little more than his nauseous sickness at sea, his double list of wearing apparel, and his borrowed dislike of the navigation-act.

A second chapter is more lively, and more instructive. The sketch of Stabroek is new, picturesque, busy, and comprehensive; the cruciform houses,—the many-coloured inhabitants,—the merchants superintending in phaetons, and under umbrellas, their shipments

shipments of cotton, sugar and tobacco,—the silently laborious negroes,—are extraordinary delineations. The estates along the Demerary, which are all intersected by canals, like Dutch meadow-land, and possess the inestimable advantage of transporting their produce by water to the mill and to the haven, form a species of property quite peculiar to Guiana. Mr Bolingbroke thinks, and the observation is certainly important, that sugar may be cultivated with advantage in this district, when its depreciation will no longer repay to the island-planter the cost of cultivation. He infers that, in the long run, the Caribbee islands will be progressively abandoned for continental property; and recommends to Government rather to cede, at a peace, the insular than the mainland settlements. Mr Bolingbroke returns to this topic many times in the course of his work, and every time with arguments more and more plausible. His statement, however, in the full extent which he gives it, we conceive to be very clearly erroneous. Considered merely with regard to their fertility and physical properties, there can be no doubt, we believe, that the settlements on the mainland are more valuable than those in our islands. But even for the nation at large, it is something to have the immediate proprietors of the estates British-born subjects, rather than Dutchmen or mongrels; and the hardship and injustice of subjecting the properties of our island-planters to the dominion of an alien government, is so glaring, that we are persuaded no administration would venture upon such a transference, even if the political weight of the old West India interest was much smaller than it is.

The third chapter continues to delineate, with interesting detail, the various classes of inhabitants at Stabroek, and to paint the localities of their household manners. There are no inns; but every merchant's house is at all times open, both to the planters who sell him their produce, and to the Europeans who receive it. The guests sleep in hammocks, which are slung in requisite numbers in the same room which had served for the repast. The floors are scrubbed with lemons; and the mosquitoes are expelled by the smoke of segars. Soup is served at every breakfast, and even fish. At dinner, Madeira wine is drunk during the meal, and porter brought between the courses as a luxury. Sangaree, or negus, is the favourite beverage during the subsequent inhalation of tobacco fumes. The fruits are various and delicious; shaddocks, guavas, and avoiras, are severally praised. Pine-apples are weeded up, unless in the hedge-rows, and given to the pigs. Every gentleman has his appropriate concubine; mestee women are preferred, and inconstancy is very rare. There is no established theatre; but privateering players cruise from island to island

island in the West Indies, and occasionally pass three months at Stabroek. The price of admission was two dollars for each representation; the actors were six in number, and gave only select scenes of those plays of Shakespeare which are too full of characters.

The commodities of Europe are distributed among the plantations by hucksters, or, as we say, hawkers; who buy of the merchant and carry to the consumer the various wares in demand. These itinerant store-keepers discharge in Guiana the same important services, which, during the feudal ages, the Jew pedlars performed in Europe. Every village, and every detached plantation, rejoiced in their arrival. They afforded the rare opportunity of seeing fashions, and of purchasing accommodations; yet the dearness and frailty of their merchandize commonly supplied, after their departure, motives for penitence and topics of abuse to their customers.

Mr Bolingbroke describes the Dutch and English languages as strangely mixed in Guiana. The *talkee-talkee*, or negro jargon, is now chiefly English, deprived of its inflections, and softened by vowel terminations; yet, it contains many Dutch and many African words. In a higher class of society, Dutch and English are still mingled, but with less corruption or alteration. The Essequibo Gazette frequently contains macaronic advertisements, in which phrases alternately occur in either dialect. The low Dutch is so rapidly losing ground in Europe, and has asserted, as a literary language, so little claim to distinction; that its continuance and propagation can only add new embarrassments to commercial and social intercourse. Surely the British Government might allowably do something towards accelerating the extinction of this barbarous idiom, by causing the Dutch laws to be compiled and translated, and then ordering justice to be administered in the English tongue.

The fourth chapter describes and criticizes the form of government, which is awkwardly republican, and is too much moulded on the institutions formerly prevalent in the United Provinces in Europe. Every shire is administered by six keizers, and a governor, who has a casting vote. Their seats are for life, like those of a court of aldermen in England. They have a power of taxation for all purposes of internal improvement;—they regulate the police of roads and canals;—they appoint the subordinate administrators of justice, and exercise many functions which in England are peculiar to the House of Commons. But the body of keizers is indissoluble. When a member drops off by death, the governor issues a notice for electing another. Every proprietor of twenty-five negroes, whether merchant or land-owner, has a vote, which he

he transmits in writing, under seal, to one of the public offices. There is at present a competition between the old Dutch landed interest and the new English colonists, who adhere together at elections. The English party at Stabroek have succeeded in obtaining a majority in the college of keizers.

The fiscal, or attorney-general, is a legal officer whose powers appear excessive and ill digested. Mr Bolingbroke suggests giving to him for assessor an English barrister. A similar institution has been tried with success in Ireland. But we are inclined to doubt, whether the learning and experience to be derived from practice in the English courts of law, would be found very applicable to the exigencies of a Dutch colony of slave owners in a tropical region.

The fifth is one of the most important chapters in the book. It gives an accurate detail of the improved treatment of negroes on the plantations at Reynestein and elsewhere. It defends the slave trade, however, with a perverse, and, we think, with an uncandid ingenuity. The author begins, indeed, by allowing that piracy and kidnapping are reprehensible; and that free negroes ought not to be seized in Africa, and sold in America;—a concession of some moment. But he seems persuaded, that the mass of transported slaves were slaves at home, and slaves of harsher masters than those to whom they are transferred in the West Indies. He endeavours to show, that, after the first sale by auction, a negro, in the Dutch colonies, is no longer a slave, but only a *vassal*, legally ascribed to the soil, and secure of a maintenance in sickness and old age; and then he discovers, that vassalage is a necessary step in the progress of new countries, where he thinks that agriculture could not go on, unless the planter provided, in large quantities, food, shelter, and clothing for his peasants; there being no stationary shops, or inns, at which such things can be had. He admits that there is room for considerable improvement in the system of vassalage; but he contends, that the system itself is for the present indispensable. Now, without pretending to expose all these fallacies in detail, we may be permitted just to hint, that Mr Bolingbroke vastly underrates the proportion of slaves born free, and forced, by foul means, into an interminable exile and servitude. The greater the number of such captives, the greator the admitted injustice and the misery occasioned by the slave trade. We presume, too, that Mr Bolingbroke softens, in description, the habitual treatment of black vassals, as he wishes to call them, even in the Dutch colonies; or judges, indeed, of their general condition from that of the labourers on his friend's plantation at Reynestein, which he holds out, at the same time, as a rare instance of humanity and wise

wise management. It is obvious, however, that if such management were common, there would be no need of importation; and that the more rare and meritorious it is, the more exceptionable must be the general condition of the negroes. Even from Mr Bolingbroke's own documents, it appears that the treatment of slaves has everywhere improved (see especially the documents at p. 399, &c.) with the increased value of the commodity; and therefore it follows, that the abolition of the slave trade, by increasing the value of this live stock on the several estates, will secure a more careful treatment, and a more equitable usage.

The sixth chapter utters many names new to geography. The seventh treats of the several Caribbee nations; and confirms or repeats some strange statements. The eighth relates to the colony of Berbice, of which the history is more completely given than of the other colonies. The ninth continues this variegated narration. The tenth and eleventh chapters are miscellaneous; and describe the Abary, the Mahaica, the Mahaicony, the Pomaroon, and other smaller rivers of Guiana, which are beginning to attract settlers. A multitude of particulars, interesting to the emigrant, to the merchant, and to the legislature, are scattered in this part of the work; and statistical details occur which the geographer will one day have to transcribe. The twelfth chapter describes the animals; and the thirteenth the vegetables of Guiana.

The fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth chapters seem intended to prove, that a vast mass of British capital has been vested advantageously in these colonies; that by giving them back at the peace of Amiens, a great injury was done to the most rapidly increasing branch of West Indian commerce; and that it behoves the State to determine never more to relinquish this acquisition; in which case, the inhabitants of the Caribbee islands would very generally transfer their *vassals* to the continent, where hurricanes are almost unknown; where fevers are less common in the uncleared, and droughts in the cleared districts; where fuel and staves are at hand; and where boats, and not mules, are employed to remove the sugar-canes from the field to the mill. Thus the continental planter economizes in the greater certainty of his crops; in the inferior mortality of his labourers; in the cheapness of fire and package; and especially in the sparing of horses and mules, which are imported and fed at a vast expense in the West Indian islands. These are advantages which, in Mr Bolingbroke's opinion, will secure to the continent, under equal privileges, a preference of colonization; and will occasion a progressive desertion of the minuter and more northerly islands in the West Indian archipelago.

The seventeenth chapter is chiefly extracted from the voyages of Sir Walter Raleigh, which may not be altogether useless to readers of ordinary perseverance; although the original account has lately been published entire, in the Appendix to Mr Arthur Cayley's unwieldy Life of that distinguished navigator.

The eighteenth chapter comprehends a summary of the leading ideas advanced in the book; and recommends a systematic attention to Guiana, as by far the most improveable province of the empire.

Notwithstanding its transcripts, its trifling, and its repetitions, this volume contains a respectable portion of new information, and much sound sense. The deputy vendue-master of Surinam has not made his voyages in vain. By the many, his account will be read with amusement; and by those who meditate to visit or to trade with these unexplored districts, with multifarious instruction. Among clerks of office, and managers of colonies, it has still more irresistible claims to attention. Hardly a chapter occurs, in which ministers are not invited to seize on some old office in favour of a British appointee; or to create some new piece of patronage for the advancement of a needy adherent. At p. 66. there ought to be more recorders; at p. 76. there ought to be more keizers in each college; at p. 78. the guardianship of orphans is indicated as a lucrative but neglected post; at p. 208. there ought to be more exploiteurs; at p. 387. the salaries of governors ought to be increased; and at p. 394, a batch of geometricians and zoologists ought to be sent out, to survey the whole province philosophically. And thus, under every possible pretext, the people are to be taxed, and the parasites of the State enriched. Colonists, no doubt, will easily be found, where residence is to be so profusely remunerated: and this China of the West, as Mr Bolingbroke prophetically entitles it, may speedily be stocked with various colleges of mandarines, as idle, ignorant, and pretending, as their brethren in the East.

ART. X. *A Memoir on the National Defence.* By J. F. Birch, Captain of the Royal Engineers. 8vo. London.

On the Necessity of a more Effectual System of National Defence, and the Means of Establishing the Permanent Security of the Kingdom. By the Earl of Selkirk. 8vo. London.

WE have, on a former occasion, endeavoured to show, that a well disciplined regular army is superior to every other species of force; and that, when irregular levies are exposed on equal

equal terms to its attack, there is very little reason to think that they will be able to stand their ground:—that the defence of a country, therefore, which has no regular army, can only be rendered practicable by a strong barrier of fortified towns, or by a difficult and mountainous frontier, which may stop the progress of an invader, and give time to the nation to array against him its physical strength. Even a regular army, however, is not a sure protection. It may be beaten by another regular army, more numerous and better disciplined: and therefore it deserves to be considered, what other resources a nation may provide for its defence; and in what manner its regular army can be aided by its effective population, and the natural and artificial strength of the country.

It is to the consideration of these important questions that the authors of the publications before us have principally directed their attention. They both admit the exclusive advantages of a regular army, and the necessity of its forming the basis of our force; but, in order to give complete security to the country, they both think that additional precautions are necessary. It seems to be their opinion, that we ought not to rest satisfied until our military preparations are such as to give us every possible chance of victory, and to provide at the same time against the consequences of defeat.

The work of Mr Birch is valuable both for its knowledge and its good sense. It is not perfectly well arranged; but the reasoning it contains is forcible and clear. He begins by endeavouring to show, that an invasion of Britain, though difficult, is not impracticable. He then examines the force which we would have to oppose to such an attack; and is decidedly of opinion, that neither our militia nor our volunteers would be at all able to cope with the veteran troops of France. In support of this opinion, he refers, not only to the common cases of the defeat of occasional forces by regular armies; but to the experience of the Americans and the French in the outset of their revolutions. He shows, from Washington's letters, that that general never had any confidence in the American militia; that they were dismayed and dispirited by the first checks which they received; that they deserted in whole companies at a time; that it was impossible to establish among them any thing like discipline or subordination; that their bad example spread disorder among the rest of the troops; and that, upon the whole, 'they did more harm than good.' The final success of the Americans, our author ascribes 'to the extent, to the strength, and to the distance of the country which was the scene of action; to the feeble efforts that were made during the three or four first years of the war; and ultimately to the French alliance, which gave them regular sol-

diers, and, for a short time, the command of the sea.' The facts furnished by the late French war are still more decisive of this question. It appears that the French levies, when they were first brought within reach of the enemy, turned their backs in the most disgraceful manner and fled, leaving their equipage, cannon, and baggage; that they were constantly liable to panics; and that, on one occasion, 15,000 men actually fled before a squadron of Prussian hussars;—that, before the battle of Neirwinden, Dumourier dismissed 10,000 of them, and that it was by the misbehaviour of those who remained that he lost the battle;—that it was only the regular forces who made any effectual resistance; and had it not been for their efforts, and the fortified frontier through which the allies had to penetrate, joined to their own inactivity and want of enterprize, the independence of France would have been in great danger. The French officers were at length so well convinced of the inefficiency of those kinds of troops, that when the volunteer battalions joined the army, they were entirely disorganized, their officers reduced to the ranks, and the privates incorporated into the mass of the regulars. The greatest attention was then paid to the reelection of new officers; and it was chiefly by their talents and persevering efforts that the new levies were at last trained to steadiness and bravery in the field. The substance of our author's argument is contained in the following striking and pertinent observations.

'I have thus noticed the principal military events which took place in France and part of the neighbouring territory, at the commencement of the revolutionary war, in order to show the influence which the different species of troops and the fortified positions had on them. Her militia and volunteers were always beaten, whilst the troops of the line and her fortified positions supported her. The situation and circumstances of France at that period, were perfectly distinguished from what ours would be in case of invasion. She was the most populous nation of Europe,—was as warlike as any other, was equally spirited, was more enthusiastic, and had the most convenient form and circumscription of limits for defence, with all her natural resources in the highest degree improved. She was the best fortified state, without any comparison, on the Continent,—which is the grand and sure basis of either defensive or offensive operations. It is to this cause that the first successes of the French, in both those sorts of warfare, is in a great measure to be attributed, and not to their capacity of meeting the enemy in the field. They were fighting on the finest fortified frontier possible, with all the resources of France immediately behind them. The allies durst not penetrate beyond that frontier, for fear of being enveloped by it; and their attacking it gave time to the French to recruit and discipline themselves,

ſelves, and to profit of all their means, which were called out to the utmoſt under Robeſpierre, while the allies were waſting themſelves, having inferior means to act with, and being obliged to bring them from a great diſtance, principally from Auſtria. The ſituations of the Americans and French are, I ſay, particularly diſtinguiſhed from ours, in thoſe circumſtances, which were the very cauſe of their ſucceſs; for our territory is of inconſiderable extent; it is of a very bad figure for defence, (the parts of it being expoſed to be ſeparated from each other, ſo as to afford no mutual cooperation and aſſiſtance, unleſs they be connected by a chain of fortified poſitions;) nor have we any fortified frontier to arreſt the firſt impulſe of the enemy, who would endeavour to proſecute his meaſures of attack with ſuch vigour and rapidity, as to give us no time to prepare ourſelves, if we ſhould not be already prepared, as we indiſputably ought to be with a good regular army, and fortified poſitions to ſupport it, which, as I have obſerved, are the true baſis of all offenſive as well as defenſive war.'

As a further proof of the inefficiency of irregular troops, Mr Birch refers to the conduct of the Swiſs militia, and to that of the Iriſh militia, when they fled from the French at Caſtlebar; and, from all theſe facts, he concludes that it would be unſafe to truſt the ſafety of the country to forces of ſuch a deſcription. He propoſes that the militia ſhould be either incorporated with the regular army, or that experienced officers ſhould be appointed to command them. They are already, he juſtly obſerves, completely abſtracted from the purſuits of civil life; they are as expenſive as regular ſoldiers; and it is evidently of the utmoſt importance, as we have but a limited population, that thoſe who devote themſelves to arms, ſhould be rendered as perfect in their calling as poſſible. The volunteers, our author thinks entitled to praiſe for their paſt exertions; but he conſiders them as nearly the worſt ſpecies of militia. Many of them are phyſically incapable of encountering the fatigues of a military life; many of them are married and have families,—a circumſtance which our author conſiders as a great drawback on their exertions; and he informs us that the French, in their conſcriptions, always take care to ſelect for ſervice the youngeſt, and thoſe that were unmarried. A ſimiliar practice, he thinks, ought to be adopted with reſpect to volunteer corps. All the youth between eighteen and twenty-five years, ought to be formed into corps near their places of reſidence; and on the landing of an enemy, they ought to be completely diſpoſeable; and either to act by themſelves, or be incorporated with the regular troops. With reſpect to the recruiting of the army, our author thinks that every encouragement ought to be given to voluntary ſervice, by rendering the condition of the ſoldier as deſirable in point of pay and other ad-

vantages, as is consistent with military discipline. Along with every other intelligent officer, he is for abolishing the disgraceful punishment of flogging. If this method of raising men, however, should fail, he thinks the army ought to be recruited by ballot. He seems quite sensible of the hardships which this will entail on the middling and lower classes of society; but he comforts himself by the reflection, that this is 'an unavoidable consequence of the inequality of fortunes in civil society.' Now, while we entirely agree with him that a regular army, supported by an armed population, is the only sure defence for a nation, we must decidedly object to the recruiting of the regular army by ballot. Our author observes, that it is not just to take the goods of the rich to induce the poor to do their duty. But why *their* duty particularly? Is it not the duty of the rich to defend the country as well as the poor; and, if they think it too burdensome, is it not quite fair that they should pay the poor for relieving them from it? Because the conditions of mankind are unequal, is that any reason why Government should aggravate this natural inequality? Captain Birch ought to consider, that a country which exists only for the rich will never be defended by the poor. We agree perfectly with him as to the expediency of keeping up as large an army as the population and resources of the country can support; but let us pay the necessary expense of raising and maintaining it, and there will be no occasion for resorting to compulsion.

In addition to those means of defence, Captain Birch is of opinion, that the country ought to be still further strengthened by the establishment of defensive fortified positions. Although we do not profess fully to enter into all the details with which our author illustrates his argument, yet the general principles on which he proceeds appear to us so plain and satisfactory, that we must gratify our readers with an abstract of this very important part of his work. Fortified positions are evidently of use, by enabling an army, inferior either in numbers or discipline, to make head against a force superior in both these respects. Their utility consists in arresting the progress of an invader, by forcing him to spend some time in their reduction, while the invaded country is preparing against him the means of his destruction. They require also few men to defend them; and inexperienced troops, with a few veterans, who would not be qualified for the fatigues of the field, would be fit for this purpose. If fortified positions, however, are sufficient to compensate the disadvantages of irregular troops, it is hardly necessary to point out the incalculable superiority which they must give to a regular army. We have already endeavoured to show, that the true policy of an invading

vading army is to fight great battles, and to spread consternation among their enemies by the boldness and decision of their plans. We may be assured, at least, that a French army in this country would follow exactly this mode of warfare. It is both suited to the disposition and genius of their soldiers; and it would, in their situation, be absolutely necessary. In these circumstances, it would not be in our power to avoid fighting without giving up a great extent of country, which, if a hostile army were landed near the capital, would be attended with lamentable consequences. By means, however, of numerous intrenched positions, conveniently disposed, the enemy might be forced to attack us in one of them; and thus, fighting under a disadvantage, they would neither have such a chance of victory, nor could it be so easy or so decisive. The loss they would suffer might disable them from proceeding; and, deprived of the means of recruiting, they would gradually be wasted away. Fortifications would also be places of security for provisions and warlike stores;—which it is impossible, indeed, to protect without them. They would be the base of the line of military operations on which the different corps of our army might act, either according to their convenience or their necessities; and they would afford a secure place of retreat for such as might be forced to retire. They would also be rallying points for the military force of the country, and a rendezvous for the armed population, where they might be trained and disciplined and incorporated into the regular army, and from whence they might rapidly issue to annoy the enemy's communications on the flanks and rear of his army. Without some strong defensive positions, in short, we hazard the safety of the country, on the event of a battle,—which is determined by the discipline of the troops engaged, and by the genius and experience of their commanders; acquirements which it is not always in the power of armies to possess in an equal degree with their enemies. Fortifications and intrenchments, however, provide a remedy against defeat;—they protract the contest, and secure a repetition of the conflict in a series of actions, in which the discipline of the troops, and the art and talents of the officers may be exercised and improved,—and in which an enemy may even exhaust himself in a succession of dear-bought victories.

The great importance of fortifications and intrenched positions, is proved by the history of military operations in all ages. It was in a great measure owing to the strength and disposition of his fortresses, joined no doubt to an excellent regular army, that Frederic was enabled to save his kingdom from ruin during the Seven-years war; and it was owing to the decline of the regular army, and to the bad state of the fortresses, their smallness

and unfavourable position, that Prussia was so rapidly overrun during the late war. In the American war, the extent of the country, and the abundance of defensive positions which it furnished, was its best security. These positions were still further strengthened by artificial works. It was a usual boast of Washington, that he never spared the spade and the mattock. By these means, the position of the American army was so secured, that we durst not hazard an attack; and in the case of Bunker's Hill, which we did think proper to attack, at what a dreadful expense of men was success purchased? The importance of the French fortified frontier during the last war, has been already noticed; and the value which the French set upon fortresses, is apparent from their anxiety to destroy them in countries of which they obtain only a temporary possession, and to repair them where they gain a permanent footing. Not to mention too many examples, the single fortress of Mantua stopped the victorious career of Bonaparte for seven months, and gave time to Austria to assemble three armies successively for the relief of Italy,—which were thrown away by the misconduct of her commanders.

If fortifications and strong positions, however, have been found to have assisted so materially in the defence of other countries, they are peculiarly necessary in Britain, which is of limited extent, and not naturally strong, and where a defeated corps, in case of extremity, would have no place of refuge, but must either lay down its arms, or be driven into the sea. The long neck of land which the country forms, might also enable an enterprizing enemy, by landing detached corps on one or both of his flanks, not only to interrupt our communications, and to prevent us from collecting our strength into one mass, for the purpose of striking a decisive blow, but they might even hang on the rear of our chief line of operation. This, it appears, was the plan actually submitted to the Directory by Carnot. He proposed to land two corps, one in Sussex, and one in Yorkshire. These would have been able, wherever they appeared, to disarm the inhabitants, who would thus have been rendered useless, or, if they had followed the retreating army, would only have augmented its confusion. Our author here endeavours to refute the notion, that the annoyance of an irregular force firing from behind walls or hedges, would afford any considerable defence to the country. It is in this kind of warfare, he observes, that the French light troops are particularly celebrated; and he is of opinion, that if the country were an open plain, without either hedge or ditch, it would be infinitely more favourable to us, as we would then have full scope for the action of horse-artillery and cavalry, in which we would undoubtedly be superior to the enemy, and against which his light troops could not protect him.

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The remainder of Captain Birch's work is occupied with discussions as to the most eligible mode of constructing these defensive works, and their distribution throughout the country. His arguments and suggestions on these points appear to us to be extremely valuable; and we earnestly recommend them to the consideration of professional readers: but it would evidently be improper, in a work of this nature, to enter into such details.

The publication of Lord Selkirk, though it coincides, in its general views, with the preceding work, is more limited in its object. The intention of the noble author seems to be, to suggest a practicable scheme for procuring to the regular army, in case of invasion, all the assistance which the population of the country is capable of affording. His plan is, gradually to train to arms all able-bodied young men, beginning with those who are between 18 and 19, and calling out the male population as they arrive at that age. They are to serve three months for the first year, and three weeks annually for six years thereafter. The number of men which will be procured by this levy, after making a deduction for those who are excluded by infirmity or other causes, Lord Selkirk estimates, apparently with as much accuracy as the case will admit of, at 400,000, 60,000 of whom he supposes may be between the age of 18 and 19. In explaining the arrangements for drilling this force, he confines himself, for the sake of greater simplicity, to a particular district, namely, the county of Kent, as an example. According to the proportion above stated, the young men between 18 and 19, in this county, would amount to 1662. These it is proposed to divide into ten divisions of 166 men each. For the first four weeks, only one division is to be assembled, that the attention of the officers may be exclusively directed to them. After the first four weeks a second division may join them, and in four weeks more a third; and each division being on duty twelve weeks, the first division will be retiring as the fourth division joins the battalion; and, at the end of every four weeks, another division will be dismissed, and will be replaced by a similar number of men entering upon their period of duty. According to this plan, three divisions of 166 men each, or in all about 500, will be constantly assembled. It is proposed to give to this corps the name of the Training Battalion; and, in such a county as Kent, to attach to it an establishment of two field-officers, eight captains, eight lieutenants, and thirty-two sergeants. When the first division is assembled, 166 men being divided into eight companies of 20 men each, there will be two commissioned and four non-commissioned officers to each company, who will very easily, in the course of four weeks, bring them to such a state of proficiency as will allow them to devote

vote the chief part of their attention, the next four weeks, to the second division. When the third division joins, the companies will contain 60 men each; but it is probable that, by this time, the most intelligent among the first division will be perfectly qualified to instruct the new recruits. After the ten divisions have gone through their allotted periods of service, there will still remain four weeks of the year to run. This period may be very advantageously filled up by a general assemblage of the local militia of the county; the whole to remain encamped for about three weeks, practising such military manœuvres and exercises as have the nearest resemblance to real warfare. When the plan is fully completed, and the whole of the population between the age of 18 and 25 has been successively trained to arms, the general assemblage of the local militia in the county of Kent will form a body of 11,200 men. This body may be conveniently divided into sixteen battalions of 700 men each, to be assigned to different local subdivisions of the county, according to the population of each district. Into these battalions, all those are placed who have passed through the service of the training battalion, and who are supposed, on that account, fit for duty. The chief command of the battalion, Lord Selkirk proposes to give to a person of influence and property in the county, to be assisted by an officer from the regular service, as his second in command:—those who have acted as captains and lieutenants in the training battalion, being to act in the general assemblage as majors of the local battalion, by which term those are distinguished who have passed through the training of the first year. The inferior officers of the local battalions are to be selected from those who are of a condition superior to the common mass; and those of this class of the population who cannot be employed as officers, may be enrolled in a separate corps, under the name of cadets.

This local militia Lord Selkirk designs for active service against the enemy, in the event of invasion. His plan is not to incorporate them with the army, but to make them act in separate and independent battalions. He is very far, however, from denying the preeminence of the regular army, or from supposing that the local militia can ever be made, by any training, to rival them in military qualities. His statements on this part of his subject, are remarkable for candour and fairness. Even the arguments which seem to make most against his own views, are stated in their full force. There is no attempt either to take from their weight, or to keep them in the back ground; and so anxious does he seem to bring his system fairly to the proof, that in the event of invasion, he lays before his readers his plan of military operations, and shows particularly what sort of service he expects from his irregular

regular force. He ſuppoſes 100,000 men landed in the country; whoſe firſt object, he imagines, would be to gain poſſeſſion of the capital, with all the great arſenals in its vicinity. The regular force which could be aſſembled, would not be ſufficiently numerous to give battle to ſuch an army. It muſt retire, therefore; and in its retreat, it will be joined by reinforcements of the local militia, which will be aſſembling from all quarters. Lord Selkirk calculates that, in the courſe of three days, 60,000 men will have joined; in two days more, this number may be further increaſed to 85,000; and in the four ſubſequent days, the militia may be aſſembled to the amount of not leſs than 160,000, and for ſome time longer every ſucceſſive day will bring in a reinforcement of about 15,000 men. Of theſe, it may be neceſſary to throw 15 or 20,000 into garriſons; and after reinforcing, with the remainder, the main body of the army, we may form, with what ſtill remains, ſubſidiary armies to act on the flank and rear of the enemy, to haraſs his detachments, to prevent his collecting proviſions, and to intercept the communication with his magazines.

'Every step,' (Lord Selkirk obſerves,) 'by which he advances, muſt increase these difficulties; and, before he has been a fortnight on English ground, he will find himself surrounded by numbers at least double of his own; he will be hemmed in by armies of respectable force, and unable to collect provisions, except from the spot which he immediately occupies. If, in these circumstances, he advance against the main body of our army, and our commanders persist in eluding a general action by retreating before him, to what purpose is it, that he gains a few miles of exhausted country on one side, while our forces still close in upon him on the other, and prevent his spreading himself over a sufficient extent of ground to afford subsistence? In the course of these operations, a large portion of fertile territory must be laid waste; but it does not seem to admit of a doubt, that sooner or later the enemy may be reduced by absolute famine.'

The only circumſtance which makes Lord Selkirk heſitate as to the efficacy of this plan, is, the vicinity of London to the probable point of landing; but in caſe London cannot be defended without riſking the ruin of the army, he propoſes that it ſhould be abandoned; and on this account he cenſures, and we think juſtly, the extreme improvidence of allowing the whole of our military ſtores to be depoſited in a ſituation ſo liable to attack.

With reſpect to the mere details of this plan, it is not our intention to ſay much. Although we have given a pretty exact account of the proceſs by which the force is to be aſſembled and diſciplined, we are far from conſidering theſe matters as of very great moment. Were we once convinced, that, after paſſing through the training which it is propoſed to give them, the local militia

militia would be fit for the ſervice for which they are deſigned, the details of their drilling would be very eaſily arranged; and if they ſhould at firſt prove defective, (as it is very likely they would), they might, by the help of a little experience, be ſoon rendered more perfect. But it is on this capital point, of their capacity for the duty aſſigned them, that we are not quite ſo ſanguine as the author.

He admits, indeed, in the moſt unqualified manner, that we cannot expect to render the local militia equal to troops inured to real ſervice; that the moſt important leſſon which a ſoldier can learn, is one which nothing but the preſence of an enemy can teach; and that it is impoſſible to rely on the ſteadineſs of new levies in their firſt encounter with the enemy. He ſeems alſo to have a very correct conception of the ſort of enemy we would have to contend with, and the nature of the warfare which he would purſue. 'We have ſeen,' (he obſerves,) 'the French generals throw themſelves into perils the moſt extreme, for the purpoſe of rendering their ſucceſſes ſplendid and deciſive. If, on the Continent, they have purſued this ſyſtem from choice, in England they muſt follow it from neceſſity. Succeſs, rapid and deciſive ſucceſs,' (he adds), 'is neceſſary to their very exiſtence.' He inſiſts, on the other hand, that new levies have occaſionally been known to diſtinguiſh themſelves in their firſt action,—that the diſadvantage of never having ſeen an enemy, is not peculiar to the levy which he propoſes, but muſt attend every other ſpecies of troops confined to home ſervice. 'Troops of this deſcription,' (he obſerves), 'if thoroughly practiſed in their manœuvres,—if accuſtomed to prompt and implicit obedience to their officers,—if commanded by officers in whom they have confidence, and who have confidence in themſelves, will certainly be more likely to act with ſteadineſs againſt the enemy, than if they had been imperfectly inſtructed, and had to encounter the embarraſſment of a ſituation for which they are ill prepared, in addition to the agitation which the preſence of danger may excite.' He remarks the defect of the volunteer ſyſtem, namely, the want of proper authority in the officers; and obſerves, that in the organization of the local militia, this error is avoided. The authority of the officers is complete; and the recruits will be withdrawn from every other avocation,—from every thing which can interrupt the acquiſitions of military habits, and placed, for the uninterrupted ſpace of three months, under the ſtricteſt diſcipline. Several officers of experience, we are informed, are of opinion that this would be a ſufficient time for the acquiſition of military habits; and in confirmation of their opinion, they refer to the practice of the French armies, in which the conſcripts are thought fit for ſervice in a ſtill ſhorter time.

The whole amount of Lord Selkirk's argument in favour of the local militia, ſeems to be, that although they never can acquire

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that energy of mind which enables ſoldiers to ſtand firm in the ſhock and carnage of a battle, they will attain to proficiency in manœuvring and in uſing their arms. But this, without the other more eſſential attainments of a ſoldier's character, would be of little uſe in the day of battle. Even though they were to attain to the utmoſt poſſible dexterity in the uſe of their arms,—although they were to go through all their evolutions with ſuch perfect regularity, as to charm admiring multitudes, and to extort the unanimous applauſe of all inſpecting officers,—ſtill, without ſteadineſs in the field, that cardinal virtue of a military force, it would profit them nothing. It is ſaid, indeed, that the firſt eſſay of new levies is often a glorious experiment. Hardly ever, we believe, where ſuch levies are brought to ſuſtain the attack of any thing like an equal number of veterans. * When a man, indeed, has chosen the profeſſion of a ſoldier for the peculiar buſineſs of his life;—when he is under the controul of officers whoſe views are the ſame, and whoſe character and eſtimation in ſociety depend in a great meaſure on their profeſſional deportment;—when he has conſtantly before his eyes the whole ſcheme of military ſubordination impreſſing the neceſſity of obedience upon his mind by practical leſſons;—when he is, beſides, aſſociating only with men of ſimilar habits with himſelf, and particularly where there is a remnant of veteran officers and ſoldiers to kindle throughout the whole body the ſame ſpirit with which they are fired, and to cheer and animate the young ſoldier in the day of battle;—the trial of ſuch troops can hardly be called an experiment. We may predict, with confidence, that they will not retreat without orders; and that they will prefer a glorious death to a ſhameful flight.

In the caſe of ſeveral of our regiments which have diſtinguiſhed themſelves in their firſt eſſay, there were alſo other circumſtances to be attended to. They had generally been placed, for ſome time before, in foreign ſtations; they had been toſſed about in tranſports, where they had heard or ſeen nothing but about the buſineſs of war; and they had for a length of time the view of an enemy before their eyes, not as a remote poſſibility, but as an immediate certainty. Thus ſeparated from every thing pacific, the mind is naturally braced for enterprize and peril; its conſtitution is ſeaſoned, as it were, by this preliminary training for

* We are afraid we cannot yet quote the ſucceſſes of the Spaniſh patriots, as inſtances of the ſuperiority of enthuſiaſm over diſcipline. With all their enthuſiaſm, they appear to have been panic-ſtruck at Cordova; and, wherever they have gained any advantage, they ſeem to have been greatly ſuperior in numbers. A detachment of leſs than 10,000 men has maintained itſelf for a month in a diſtrict ſaid to contain 160,000 armed patriots.

for the new element in which it is hereafter to live; and, when the occasion arrives for displaying its newly-acquired vigour, it shows itself superior to those evils under which it would have formerly sunk.

The constitution and circumstances of the local militia, are in all points the reverse of those we have described. Neither the officers nor the men have chosen the military profession as the business of their lives. Their military duties are to them rather an interruption from more serious avocations. In these circumstances, it is in vain to talk of the authority of the officers. Whatever authority they may have in theory, in practice they will have very little. They have no interest in enforcing strict discipline among their men; and there are many obvious reasons why they will not be inclined to any rigorous exercise of their power. Being chosen from those who are subject to the conscription for the local militia, their places of residence will naturally be the same with those of their men; they will probably be connected with them by civil ties, of far more importance to both parties than their connexion as soldiers; and they will never dream, therefore, of incurring their ill-will by any severe exaction of their military duties. The men will never feel what military obedience is; and, if there be any attempt to make them feel it, it will only fret and disgust them with the service, and make them look forward with the more impatience to the end of the three months, when a period will be put to their thraldom.

It is impossible, we are afraid, to make men think seriously about any business but that which is to be the business of their lives. To attempt to excite a vigorous application of the mind to an employment which is to be laid aside in three months, appears to us to be a most hopeless project. Lord Selkirk indeed suggests, that the military exercises of the local militia might become a scene of animated recreation. It might be so. But when men follow after such pursuits merely for recreation, we cannot expect that they will do much good. The novelty of the thing might no doubt excite a temporary animation; but when that wore off, the local militia would feel the effects of that languor and listlessness under which the volunteer system has been seen to moulder away.

With respect to what is said of the French conscripts, it would no doubt prove a great deal, if the new-raised conscripts were arranged in battalions by themselves, and sent to fight the enemy under inexperienced officers. But that is not the case. The French know, that in three weeks, the time said to be allotted for drilling their conscripts, none of the important duties of a soldier can be learned. They content themselves, therefore, with teaching them to use their arms, and to go through a few manœuvres, in order to qualify them for taking their place in the ranks of the regular

regular army, throughout which they are diſperſed, and where they are kept ſteady in the day of battle by the example of their comrades and officers. If the local militia were ever to be expoſed to the danger of real ſervice, they would have every diſadvantage to ſtruggle with. They would have little time to fortify their minds by any previous preparation. They would be torn ſuddenly from the boſom of domeſtic purſuits, and led on by officers ignorant of every thing but the duty of the parade. When forced to face the enemy under ſuch circumſtances, how can we rationally look for any other reſult, than that which has always taken place in ſimilar circumſtances, namely, the utter rout and diſperſion of a force badly diſciplined and badly commanded?

We ſhall now proceed to examine the ſcheme of military operations which Lord Selkirk propoſes to carry into effect againſt the enemy; and we muſt candidly confeſs, that we ſuſpect he overrates the effect of his tactics as much as he does the diſcipline of his troops. His campaign does not fight very well even upon paper; and we hardly think would anſwer the expectations of its author any where elſe. No obſtacle is ever ſuppoſed to occur to diſcompoſe the ſymmetry of its arrangements. Although the operations of a regular army are generally kept back by unforeſeen obſtacles, yet, in this momentous campaign, neither awkwardneſs nor miſmanagement are heard of. All the reinforcements arrive in regular ſucceſſion, exactly at the time ſpecified, and juſt when they are needed; and, what is not the leaſt extraordinary, 100,000 veterans are ſuppoſed to have done little in the mean time but wait for their arrival. Without dwelling on the tumult and diſmay which the invaſion would ſpread through the country, and on the many circumſtances which would ariſe from this cauſe to delay the march of the local militia, we may obſerve, that the ſcheme of operations which Lord Selkirk propoſes to purſue, is preciſely that which the rapid and daring character of the French tactics is beſt calculated to diſconcert. It is not often that a body of 100,000 men can be ſurrounded on all ſides by armies of equal ſtrength; and, if their commander is very rapid and adventurous in his operations, he may generally equal, if not outnumber his enemies at a particular point, and may thus either defeat or deſtroy one of their armies.

According to Lord Selkirk's plan, the French would be ſurrounded by troops of a very inferior character; and there is little doubt that, if they could bring any thing like an equal force to bear on any one point, they would carry every thing before them; they would rout and diſperſe the local militia by whom they would be oppoſed, and thus very ſoon open to themſelves a wider field for their operations. During the late Continental wars, they have extricated themſelves from ſituations infinitely

infinitely more perplexing than any thing they could meet with in Britain. In the year 1796, when Moreau made his famous retreat through the Black Forest, he was completely surrounded by veteran troops. He had to retire through a difficult country, full of mountainous passes, which were all guarded by a numerous peasantry, well armed, and irritated against the French. In these circumstances, far from thinking of surrendering, he concentrated his forces; and by the secrecy, boldness, and rapidity of his movements, contrived to defeat several of the corps by which he was surrounded, and thus to secure his retreat across the Rhine. In the very same campaign also, when the two armies of Moreau and Jourdan were penetrating into Germany, and were preparing to fall upon the Archduke Charles with their united strength, he contrived, by the rapidity and decision of his movements, to fall upon Jourdan alone, to rout and dissipate his whole force, and finally to compel him to recross the Rhine with a dispirited and ruined army. It was by the same means that Bonaparte beat the more numerous Austrian armies which were sent against him in Italy. If, however, this manœuvre is often practised with success against veteran troops, with what incalculable effect would it be resorted to against new levies!

But although we do not wholly approve of the local militia, and still less of the use to which they are to be put, we are by no means disposed to contend, that an establishment which would contain the flower of the population would be of no service. Instead of employing this force, however, against the enemy in separate battalions, it would, in our opinion, be a much safer and surer plan to provide a regular army decidedly superior in number to any body of troops that the enemy could land, and to reserve the armed population as a never-failing fund to recruit its losses, and to keep it constantly up to its original strength. In this way, unless we sustained a very ruinous defeat, which, with a very superior regular army, and with common good management, is scarcely possible, we would be ultimately certain of reducing the enemy, who could probably receive no reinforcements. It is vain, however, to think of accomplishing this desirable object without many hard fought and bloody battles. It is of great consequence, therefore, not to bring into the field any thing but a regular force fit for fighting, and in the highest possible state of discipline. It is precisely by pursuing a system of this kind that the French have been enabled to conquer Europe. Forced, for a while, to struggle for their existence, they submitted patiently to such a rigorous conscription as no people would bear except for the purposes of self-defence; and after they had completely established their own security, they availed themselves of their great resources for war in order to encroach upon their neighbours. It was by

means

means of their regular army, supported by the inexhaustible fund of an immense population to supply its losses, that France defended herself against a host of foes. It is by the same means that she has been enabled to carry into effect such vast schemes of offensive warfare, and even to outnumber her enemies (such appears to have been the case in the late contest with Russia) even upon their own frontiers. Here, then, is a plain precedent for us to copy. It is not, indeed, handed down to us by our ancestors, but it is held out for our benefit by our enemies. Henceforth, therefore, if we are disposed to profit by experience, the object of our military policy will be to form, in the first place, a regular army; and for the purpose of assisting and recruiting it, we may enrol the names of all young men between 18 and 25, and give them such drilling as will qualify them to take their station in its ranks. One great advantage of this plan would be, that it would be attended with little or no expense; and it would not disturb the ordinary occupations of society. There would be no need for the expense and parade of uniforms; nor would it be necessary to spend much time in drilling. The French reckon three weeks sufficient to make a recruit fit for service, and, in military matters, it is not for us to dispute their authority. We perfectly agree with Lord Selkirk, that there ought to be no exemptions for the rich. To let them off for the payment of a fine is merely a device for throwing the burden of defending the country on the poor, which is eaſily ſeen through, and which never fails to excite general and well-founded diſcontent.

Lord Selkirk proceeds to compare the eſtabliſhment of the local militia with the volunteer ſyſtem, and with the plan for a general array of the whole male population of mature age; and he gives the preference, in our opinion on very juſt grounds, to his own meaſure. He concludes his obſervations, on this part of the ſubject, with recommending a more general enrolment of the population, for the purpoſe of cutting up roads, breaking down bridges, and other ſervices not ſtrictly military.

The meaſures, however, of which we have been conſidering the propriety, apply only to Britain. The defence of Ireland, therefore, remains yet to be provided for. It would not be ſafe, according to our author, to eſtabliſh a local militia in that country, on account of a certain 'lawleſs and diſaffected ſpirit' which is ſaid to prevail among a great proportion of the people. He propoſes, therefore, to ſubſtitute a general militia, to ſerve for three years in any part of the united kingdom, and to be permanently embodied during that time,—the number to be between 30,000 or 40,000 men, to be raiſed by ballot; from which an exemption for three years may be purchaſed by the previous pay-

ment of a fine of 10l.; but no exemptions after the ballot is begun, and no ſervice by ſubſtitution.

If it be true that diſaffection exiſts very generally in Ireland, we are much afraid that this ſevere meaſure would tend to confirm, and to extend it. It is evident that it would operate (like the ballot in this country) as a tax on all thoſe who could by any means ſcrape together ten pounds; and whatever ſervice was obtained, would be extorted from the poverty of thoſe who could not pay the neceſſary ſum. Lord Selkirk endeavours indeed to mitigate the oppreſſion of the meaſure as much as poſſible; but its defects are radical, and cannot be diſſembled. The diſcontent that has been excited in this country, by the vexation of ballots, is greater than can be well imagined. The iniquity of making the poor *pay* for defending the country, while the rich are allowed to eſcape free, is ſo groſs that nothing can cover or diſguiſe it.

Why, however, it may be aſked, is Ireland diſaffected? Is diſaffection an ultimate fact, of which no further account can be given? On the contrary, we hold it as an eternal truth, that where a government is adminiſtered in juſtice and in mercy, diſaffection can never either ſettle permanently, or ſpread very generally among its ſubjects; and if it be true that diſcontent is very prevalent in Ireland, it muſt be in a great meaſure owing to the fault of its rulers. We could have wiſhed that a perſon of Lord Selkirk's rank and eminent talents had ſpoken out more plainly upon this ſubject. But, while he ſeems to allow all the faults of the Iriſh government, there is a management and reſerve in his language which we ſcarcely know how to account for. The ſum and ſubſtance of what he ſays ſeems to be,—that there has exiſted in Ireland a refractory ſpirit, not to be repreſſed but by the ſtrong hand of power;—that government had no military force adequate to this purpoſe;—that they were, conſequently, forced to depend on the inhabitants moſt immediately intereſted in the preſervation of good order;—that thoſe men were too much influenced by irritating circumſtances, to preſerve, on all occaſions, their coolneſs and moderation;—and that government could not interfere to curb their violence. With reſpect to repreſſing a refractory ſpirit by the ſtrong hand of power, we will confeſs we are not over fond of this kind of policy. We would rather prefer inquiring into its cauſe; and we might then perhaps find, that what was termed a refractory ſpirit, was nothing more than a natural impatience of oppreſſion, which would ceaſe with the grievance which produced it. But as to Government being obliged to prop up its authority by the aid of a party, and to deliver over to the vengeance of this irritated faction *any* part of thoſe whom

whom it was bound to protect,—we muſt ſay that we conſider ſuch policy to be as weak as it is odious, and cannot help expreſſing our ſurpriſe, that a perſon, ſo gifted and diſpoſed as Lord Selkirk, ſhould have heſitated about giving it its true appellation. On whom did Lord Fitzwilliam rely for ſupport in his ſhort but glorious adminiſtration, but on the Iriſh people at large? On whom did Lord Cornwallis rely, when he nobly branded with diſgrace that party on whom, Lord Selkirk informs us, the government depended for its ſupport? And on whom did the Duke of Bedford rely, when he refuſed to liſten to the violent counſels of that ſame party, and to outlaw ſeveral counties which were ſaid to be in a ſtate of diſturbance? Let the government be uprightly adminiſtered, and the moſt powerful of all parties, the party of the people, will rally round it for its ſupport.

Lord Selkirk concludes his work with a few obſervations on our preſent militia eſtabliſhment,—the diſadvantages of which he points out with great force and perſpicuity. The notion of their being the conſtitutional force of the country, he very ſucceſsfully expoſes. When this kind of cant, however, once gets poſſeſſion of the public ear, there is no diſlodging of it. We have only further to remark, that Lord Selkirk's ſtyle appears to us to be diſtinguiſhed by an unaffected elegance and ſimplicity, which renders the peruſal of his work both eaſy and pleaſant.

ART. XI. *A Letter from Mr Whitbread to Lord Holland, on the preſent Situation of Spain.* Third Edition. London. Ridgeway, 1808.

WE are induced to notice this little pamphlet, more from the high character of the perſons named in the title of it, than from any great value which we are diſpoſed to ſet upon either the opinions contained in it, or the manner of delivering them. In fact, the letter conſiſts pretty much of the bare *dictum* of the reſpectable and enlightened author. As a ſtatement of his ſimple and unſupported opinion, it no doubt deſerves the greateſt attention from the country; and the different parties which divide the ſtate, are very ſure to beſtow upon it as much notice as it deſerves, each for its peculiar purpoſe. But our way happens not to lye through ſuch paths; and the bare '*cogitavit*' of a man, however high in political eſtimation, can ſcarcely affect us, except in ſo far as it may be accompanied by a fair ſtatement of grounds and reaſonings. The ſubject of the 'letter' is nevertheleſs of ſuch general importance, and the public are, in our humble apprehenſion, running ſo far out of the right courſe in their views of it,

that we avail ourselves of this opportunity to say a few words upon it,—adding, we fear, one to the numberless instances in which we have attempted vainly to preach reason in a conflict of passions, and have met with the success which attends those unpleasant counsellors, who would fain prevent the pains of disappointment, by recommending a temperate indulgence in the pleasures of hope. We shall be disposed to alter our course of practice, as soon as we find that we have been mistaken: hitherto the event has too fatally justified those ungrateful prospects which we have so often deemed it our duty to unfold.

It is necessary, however, here to premise, that we by no means intend to enter at large into the subject of Spanish affairs. Our object is to touch upon them only in their connexion with the doctrines so often delivered in this Journal upon continental politics—doctrines, in a recurrence to which, we are intimately persuaded, the salvation of England is to be found. Even if we had the information required for a full discussion of the questions, 'whether or not the Spaniards are likely to succeed?' and 'how are they to seek success?'—even if the persons best qualified to treat of these matters had promulgated their sentiments upon them—if Lord Holland had written a long letter to Mr Whitbread, instead of receiving a very short note upon the subject from his '*honourable friend*,'—still we should deem it inconsistent with our proper province to enter into those questions of present and passing politics, and to deliver arguments upon the probabilities of events so very near at hand, that in all likelihood they will happen before our speculations can reach the public. We purpose, therefore, to keep as much as possible to the most general views of those questions, and rather to consider the whole subject in its relation to the political conduct of England, and the different positions which have been maintained respecting it by the various reasoners who have of late years decided men's opinions.

Mr Whitbread begins his letter with defending his conduct in the House of Commons, when Mr Sheridan brought the situation of Spain under the consideration of Parliament. At that time it was altogether uncertain what part it would be most adviseable for the Spanish leaders to take; and, ignorant as every body, except the Government, of necessity was, respecting the real state of affairs in the peninsula, Mr Whitbread very properly thought that Government should be left free and unbiassed in its deliberations upon this weighty subject. Subsequent events, however, Mr Whitbread remarks, have wholly changed the appearance of the case. It has been ascertained, that all over Spain an unexampled spirit of resistance to the enemy has burst forth. The Spaniards are suddenly and of themselves committed. What then remains,

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he asks, but that we should assist them with all the means in our power? Having dilated upon this topic with great earnestness, and in a manner quite demonstrative, both of his participation in the universal good wishes towards the cause of Spanish liberty, and of his entertaining almost the same sanguine expectations of its success which the people of England are now fondly indulging,—Mr Whitbread passes to another topic, which he just touches, but in a temper of moderation and impartiality which cannot be too highly commended,—the choice of leaders for such an armament as it may be deemed expedient to send into Spain. Here, too, he joins in what we trust is the universal wish, that no generals should be chosen for their rank in the state, or their connexion with the royal family, but that the choice should fall on the men whom merit and past services point out. We may remark by the way, that the *truly British* public seem wholly to have forgotten, upon this question, their usual predilection for the taste and feelings of the Sovereign. Highly as we rejoice in the circumstance, we cannot help pointing out its inconsistency with former and very recent popular clamours; and we may be permitted to marvel, that, where the Spaniards are concerned, scarcely a voice should be raised for the paternal feelings and amiable family-prejudices of the Monarch in 1808, among a people which, one little year before, was loud, and almost sanguinary, in denouncing those upright and enlightened statesmen who dared to thwart the King's prejudices against four millions of his Irish subjects!

Mr Whitbread concludes with a few words upon a topic always dear to him, and most honourably supported by his powerful talents, at a time when the Whigs themselves manifestly deserted their ancient tenets, and, betrayed by false hopes of Continental victories, or debauched by the enjoyment of power, adopted the language and views of their ancient adversaries—we mean the subject of peace. He scruples not to affirm, that the present is a fit moment for thinking of negotiation; and as this part of his pamphlet, like the rest of his manly and virtuous conduct upon the question of peace, has been made a subject of the most base and wilful misrepresentation, we shall quote his own words;—the rather, because we have the misfortune, for the first time, and in the way we shall afterwards state, to differ from him in one particular of his sentiments on this important matter.

'At the conclusion of my speech, on the act of Appropriation, I declared that I still adhered to the opinions I laid down on the 29th of February last, when I moved as a resolution in the House of Commons, "That there is nothing in the present state of the war which ought to preclude his Majesty from embracing any fair opportunity

of acceding to, or commencing a negotiation with the enemy, on a footing of equality, for the termination of hostilities on terms of equality and honour." I maintain that proposition now; and because I reasserted it in the House of Commons on the day I have alluded to, it has been falsely and basely stated, that I advised the purchase of peace by the abandonment of the heroic Spaniards to their fate. God forbid! A notion so detestable never entered my imagination. Perish the man who could entertain it! Perish this country, rather than its safety should be owing to a compromise so horribly iniquitous! My feelings, at the time I spoke, ran in a direction totally opposite to any thing so disgusting and abominable.

'I am not, however, afraid to say, that the present is a moment in which I think negotiation might be proposed to the Emperor of the French by Great Britain;—with the certainty of this great advantage, that if the negotiation should be refused, we should be at least sure of being *right* in the eyes of God and man;—an advantage which, in my opinion, we have never yet possessed, from the commencement of the contest to the present hour; and the value of which is far beyond all calculation.

'If the emancipation of Spain, the enthronement of Ferdinand VII., and the amelioration of the government of that country, through the means of the legitimate organ of their Cortes, or any other of their own choosing, could be effected without bloodshed, is there a man existing who would not prefer the accomplishment of these objects by the means of negotiation, rather than by the sword? If Mr Fox were happily alive, and had power commensurate with his ability, I see a bare possibility that his genius might turn this crisis to such great account. Nothing should be done but in concert with the Spaniards; and the complete evacuation of Spain by the French armies, the abstinence from all interference in her internal arrangements, the freedom of the royal family, might be the conditions of the negotiation. There is no humiliation in such a proposal. What a grateful opportunity would at the same time present itself, of making a voluntary proffer of restitutions, which, when demanded, it might perhaps be difficult to accede to! What a moment to attempt the salvation of Sweden, and the reestablishment of the tranquillity of the North!

'All this I had in contemplation at the time I said I should not think it improper now to offer a negotiation for peace. I should be desirous of conveying these terms to the court at Bayonne, and of proclaiming them to the world. If they should be accepted, is there a statesman who could doubt of their propriety, of their justice, of their honour? If rejected, is there a free spirit in the universe that would not join in applauding the justice and moderation of Great Britain, in condemning the violence, the injustice, and ambition of the Emperor of the French?' p. 11—14.

Having extracted this statement, we believe no one who is not resolved wilfully to misapprehend the author's views, will accuse him

him of insinuating a wish at variance with the highest tone of honour and good faith towards Spain, or the most determined spirit of patriotism towards the interests of his own country. We shall afterwards state the grounds of our wishing that he had shaped his opinion somewhat differently.

The contest which is now carrying on in Spain against the French, differs, in many most important points of view, from any of the wars which have been waged with France since the Revolution; and those diversities are so great, as to render it perfectly consistent in persons who have always both disapproved of the policy pursued on the Continent, and despaired of its success,—nay, in persons who, at the beginning, blamed the principle of resisting the French revolution—to wish well to the cause of the Spaniards; to recommend vigorous measures for their assistance; to entertain very sanguine hopes of the final event; and to modify their desires of peace, in order to make it subservient to the cause of Spain.

In the *first* place, France was never before so plainly and entirely in the wrong as she is in the present struggle. Formerly, she was not always the aggressor, in any point of view. For example, the first coalition against the Revolution was a manifest war of aggression on the part of the allies; and, even when she might be said to have given just cause of hostility, as previous to the third coalition, still she contrived to let the other party strike the first blow; and, always throwing upon her adversaries the odium of disturbing the peace of the Continent, she managed to maintain, in the eyes of men, the reputation of only moving in self-defence. Whoever was ultimately the cause of war, the blame which men always attach to the party who first breaks the peace, fell constantly upon the enemies of France: and it did so happen, that her conduct, at the treaties which generally followed those disastrous campaigns, was sufficiently moderate, considering her enormous victories, to keep up the same impression. Every thing bore the appearance of France having been forced into hostilities by the jealousy, the fears, or the restlessness of her neighbours, acting under the influence of England,—having been compelled to beat them from one end of Europe to the other; and then taking as little as she well could of their territory, as a punishment for their past aggressions, and a security for their keeping the peace in future. But now she has unequivocally adopted a different line of conduct. She has at once, and suddenly, thrown off the mask, and, without the shadow of a pretext, attacked her most inoffensive neighbour, her submissive ally,—whose force and treasure she had for years been permitted to use as her own,—whose whole resources were always at her service,—and whose dominions she only in name did

not hold as a province of her vast empire. Without a pretence of ground for quarrelling—without a single high word having passed between them—she marches her armies into the peninsula, dethrones the royal family, and takes possession of the crown. Here, therefore, France cannot even pretend that she is not the sole aggressor; and, as such, she is viewed by her neighbours, by the Spaniards, and even by her own subjects.

Secondly, In former wars between France and her neighbours, the courts and the regular armies on both sides were alone engaged. After one game had been played in the cabinet, of intrigue, solicitation, trick and bribery, another game was the consequence of it in the field,—a game of tactics, stratagems, regular murder, and legalized plunder. Superior skill in a few persons who had the management of these games was sure to carry the stake; and the people, whom the result of the contest transferred from the loser to the winner, stood by pretty much unconcerned how it might end, and caring mighty little whether they paid tribute to Cæsar or to Pompey. But now, for the first time, a whole people is at war with a foreign court and its armies. They have a large and defensible territory to act in; they carry on, at their own doors, a most just and purely defensive war; they have drawn their swords, (to use the memorable words of Washington,* would that they had such a man to lead them!) 'for the only cause which can justify this extremity;' and they are altogether invincible if they follow up the dying counsels of the same great patriot; 'and having once drawn them, resolve never again to sheathe the same until they conquer, but rather prefer falling with them in their hands to the relinquishment thereof.' If such a spirit pervades the peninsula,—if it proves as lasting and steady as it is keen in the outset,—we may be well assured that France will never occupy more of Spain than the ground her military posts shall cover, nor reckon among her vassals any Castilians but those whom she locks up in her prisons. We by no means intend to say that this perseverance is certain of being exhibited; but we assert, that the resistance has now, for the first time, begun well, and in the right quarter,—and that now, if ever, there are some grounds for hope.

In the *third* place, the fatal errors which prepared for the French armies the way to Berlin and Vienna, are much less likely to be committed by the Spanish; nor is the contest now carried on by the talents and spirit of a great people against the sloth and feebleness of a corrupted court. In truth, the court of Madrid

* Last-will of General Washington, bequeathing his sword, which he had borne in the war, to his nephew.

Madrid is at an end; it basely fled from the country; and, having left the people to fight their own battle,—having, in fact, taken part with the enemy against them, it cannot expect either that its views should be thought of, or that it should ever regain its power, even if the struggle proves successful. This, indeed, is the best item in the whole account of the Spaniards. They are set free from their old, hereditary, corrupt rulers—from personages who governed by rote—from the creatures of intrigue, or, at best, the creatures of form and precedent—from the feeble beings who will only suffer men to serve the country according to their pedigrees—contemners of merit and personal acquirements—scoffers at the divinity of talents—to whom, melancholy to reflect, the fate of Europe has been entrusted for the last twenty years, and in whose hands the cause of regular government and national independence has been placed, at a moment when all the bad passions of man's nature were let loose against them, and had armed all the genius of a mighty people for their destruction. Accordingly, those governments have, one after another, fallen, we speak literally, before the *genius* of France; but Spain is, in some sort, about to fight her with her own weapons; and to oppose, what we greatly fear can alone afford a barrier to one revolution,—another revolution. If any thing can check the progress of the French armies, it is this; and we deeply lament that the experiment was not tried sooner, when, instead of a chance, Europe might, in such measures, have found a certainty of salvation.

Having thus far stated, in general, what we conceive to be the circumstances peculiarly distinguishing the present struggle against France, and admitted, to so large an extent, that they open very favourable prospects of success, we must now shortly advert to the other side of the question, which, unhappily, is never looked at by the people of this country, because it is not so flattering to their wishes. What, it may be asked, makes us retain any fears of the result, after the very favourable circumstances which we have enumerated? What have we to oppose, on the side of France, to all that has now been reckoned up in favour of Spain? To all this we must unhappily oppose the French Army, directed by the French Cabinet. Greatly as we think of the Spaniards, their enemy is at the head of half a million of the best soldiers in the world; and, so abundant a stock of generals has he,—so large a provision of the stuff of which generals are made, that every officer above the rank of a captain might be slain, and nine in ten of all the rest of his officers,—and on the morrow he would have at his command a greater number of men fitted to carry on his war, an army better officered and better disciplined

for

for his purposes, than ever took the field before the year 1796. This tremendous engine it is which we own does appal us. If we could but see any of the vices or follies of old governments creeping into the French military system—could we only hear of some kept-mistress giving away a command—or of some stripling of quality rising into high place—or of squabblings between some silly prince and some booby dignitary of the French empire about the management of an expedition—or of some division in the councils of Bonaparte, respecting his policy towards Spain, and a delay in marching his armies thither, were it but of one little week—or could we even learn that an unknown officer, of long standing and high military rank, was likely to be entrusted with the command—or be it only, that a distinguished veteran, too antient to be active and alert at his post, had been named to carry on the Spanish campaign;—we should be infinitely comforted and cheered in our views of this momentous affair, and should begin to be sanguine about the deliverance of Europe. But, alas! the dynasty of Bonaparte is yet too fresh for such blunders as these; it cannot afford to indulge in those *dulcia vitia* of old established governments; and the wretched truth really is, that, at the present moment, he has a system of policy and of military power which unites in itself almost every benefit of a revolutionary government, with a far greater degree of order and regularity than ever before presided over the affairs of the most antient monarchies.

Therefore it is that we dread the issue. And admitting every thing that can be urged in favour of the Spaniards—granting that they are much better off than the Austrians or Prussians, and a thousand times more advantageously circumstanced than those famous allies of ours the Muscovites—allowing that they are possessed of many of the benefits of a revolutionary system—that, for example, they are in somewhat the same relative situation with the French at the treaty of Pilnitz;—still we cannot help remarking that the odds are turned against them, by the unfortunate circumstance of their enemy having the same advantages in a still higher degree, together with the inestimable advantages of ample preparation and systematic arrangement. If the Spaniards stand now where the French did in 1792, unhappily the French are a very different enemy from the Prussians and Austrians; and we greatly fear, that had the Duke of Brunswick entered Champagne with the sort of armies which are at this moment crossing the Pyrenees, we should have heard very little more of the revolution, and the universal empire of France.

We may likewise be perfectly certain, that the Spainards have to do with an enemy, who does not act either tardily or scrupulously—who will do nothing by halves—and be restrained by no considerations,

derations, either of humanity or timidity, from making his very utmost efforts to put down this first symptom that has yet appeared of popular resistance to his authority. He is too deeply interested in the matter,—his power is too much committed in the contest, to allow room for half measures, even were those according to his taste at any rate. In what manner he may set about his work,—whether by entering Spain himself at the head of a mighty army,—or by sending numberless detachments successively to support each other, and scour the country, while more are always kept behind the Pyrenees, in case of necessity,—or by first occupying the capital and those champaign districts, which must always be the property of the regular army in a contest with undisciplined natives, and then turning his force by degrees into light troops, and pushing his way into the more difficult country;—whether he will trust more to the effect of prompt and rapid measures, of overwhelming successes, accompanied with severe examples of vengeance, or to the consequences of such delay as may give the popular spirit time to cool, and his emissaries an opportunity of intriguing to divide the natives, and conciliate some portion of them; or whether he will put part of all these plans into motion,—it belongs not to us even to conjecture, placed as we are at a distance from the scene, almost wholly ignorant of the facts, and acquainted with the relative situation of the parties *only by the evidence of one side.* But it is not presuming too much on past experience to conclude, that whatever military and political resources can effect—that all the efforts of artifice and of force—that the utmost powers of the finest armies and most subtle intriguers in Europe, will be exhausted in the one remorseless, unprincipled object, of crushing the Spanish revolution. Can any man of sense—does any plain, unaffected man, above the level of a drivelling courtier, or a feeble fanatic, dare to say he can look at this impending contest, without trembling, every inch of him, for the result?

The question, then, seems in a great measure to reduce itself to this—What probability is there that the popular spirit, now so gloriously prevalent all over Spain, will last, for one or two years, unimpaired by time,—undivided by the enemy's arts—unchecked by the inevitable defeats which must attend the opening of the campaign—unwearied by the constant hardships, the changes of life, the numberless privations of every sort, which must ever fall to the lot of those who resist the powers that be, until their victory over oppression is finally secured? This is the only question; for, should the public ardour against France continue a considerable time in its present universality and violence, we would willingly take it against all the resources of the enemy just

now

now enumerated. In an extensive and difficult country like Spain—full of passes—scarce of provisions in most of the mountainous districts—not well known of course to the invaders—so situated that one position does not command any other;—we conceive it to be *impossible* for a numerous people to be conquered by any human means, so long as they are animated by the same spirit of resistance, and resolved to preserve their independence. The only question is, whether this spirit be not in its nature transient,—whether multitudes of men are not apt to be either excessively sanguine or irrecoverably depressed,—to pass from the extreme of hope to that of despondency,—and to be dispersed, by time and weariness, in a cause good enough, and sufficiently adored, to have made them invincible while kept together.

This consideration, we confess, it is that alarms us, and damps our expectations, greatly as we desire to believe every thing credible in favour of the Spaniards. Nor are we much disposed to confide in the hopes so universally expressed, that because this gallant people are committed, they cannot retract, —that, reduced to misery by the cruelties already practised upon them, they are in a state of desperation. For, in truth, it is a figure of speech to talk of a nation being desperate, or so far committed, as of necessity to go all lengths. Individuals may be so, and will act accordingly; but, in a community, one man is committed, and another, when called to go all lengths in consequence, so far from feeling inclined to act desperately, will very probably take warning by the fate of his neighbours. One family loses two or three children, and becomes, we will admit, quite desperate; but another, which has not yet been equally unfortunate, will probably be warned by this example, and prefer the private to the public feelings. This, indeed, is the great risk which awaits all such popular feelings as are now excited in Spain. The father of a family—the individual—is apt to weigh down the citizen and the patriot; while, to the opposite party, delay creates no dangers at all: and thus it becomes much to be apprehended, that the efforts which are requisite to oppose the refinements of art and system on the one side, are more than nature can long sustain upon the other.

We are very far from saying that skill and wisdom can do nothing to prevent disunion, and to prolong the duration of zeal on the part of the Spaniards. It is no doubt possible, that they will be wise enough to adopt the only measure which can greatly help them in these important points—that they will, in the outset, assemble a Cortes, and thus give an unanimity and consistency to their proceedings, as well as lead them further towards a total and radical change in their government, and in their whole

domestic

domestic policy. Much may certainly be expected from so wise a measure; and, if we saw it adopted, our fears for their success would be somewhat diminished. But, placed as we are at the threshold, and uncertain both of the course they are to pursue, and of the relative position of their dreadful adversary, we are compelled to admit, that, upon the whole, our apprehensions greatly predominate. In a word, upon the case as it is at present before this country, the sounder opinion seems to be that which is unhappily too melancholy to contemplate with calmness, —that the Spaniards will be defeated, after a gallant and most sanguinary struggle; and that, if any measures can save them from this fate, they will be those which are in their nature decidedly revolutionary; although, for the reasons formerly urged, it seems very doubtful, whether the power of France, growing out of the revolution, and since consolidated into a system, will now permit any change of government and policy, however violent, to secure the independence of Spain.

Here we must, once for all, deny the imputation of adopting this desponding view of things from any foolish propensity to oppose the popular and fashionable opinions, or from the vain notion, that it looks like the wiser judgment. We do not take up this theme, lest we should be suspected of being romantic in the cause of liberty (which we have been frequently accused of too keenly favouring), as some natives of the sister kingdom are said at once to betray and disclaim their country, by suspecting blunders where there are none,—or as countrymen of our own frequently find out a joke in very serious positions, in order to escape the common national imputation of not knowing when to laugh. Far from all this. We would eagerly cling to the favourable view of the Spanish cause; and can only be torn from the prospects so flattering to those sentiments of freedom,—of active resistance to all sorts of oppression, which we openly avow and glory in,—by the conviction that we should be but feeding our own minds and those of our readers with an empty picture. It is not unwise, however unpleasant it may be, to examine the chances of failure with a curiosity proportioned to the vast importance of success;—nor is even an excess of incredulity altogether inexcuseable in those who have drunk deeply of disappointment.

It remains, that we should apply the present topics to the doctrines formerly maintained by us, and those respecting peace pointed out by Mr Whitbread in the passage above extracted. We certainly do see no reason whatever for wishing that the continental powers should seize the present opportunity of breaking with France; or for changing the opinion so frequently expressed

pressed by us in favour of pacific measures. Both of these points will require a very little illustration.

First, It seems quite manifest, that the situation of the German and Northern Powers is, for the purpose of resistance to France, as desperate as it was after the battle of Friedland, in every circumstance relating to their own resources merely. There seems as much reason as ever to dread a rupture on the part of one state without the concurrence of the rest,—to despair of the possibility of such a general movement,—and to apprehend the most ruinous consequences from its result, were it possible to produce one. What is there, then, in the situation of Spain, to make us alter an opinion dictated by the circumstances of those states, if viewed by themselves? Is there any thing so very favourable in our prospects from that quarter, as to counterbalance all the dangers which we so reasonably apprehend elsewhere, and to supply all the deficiencies of the other powers? Had the Spaniards bowed submissively to their invaders, would any man in his senses have harboured a wish to see Austria and Russia seeking their destruction by a new war? Every thing, then, hinges upon Spain; and, unless it can be made to appear that Spain alone turns the scale against France,—unless it can be supposed, that the enemy is so completely occupied beyond the Pyrenees as to disarm him on every other side,—unless it is maintained, that he despairs of success in Spain, and still is so far committed that he cannot draw back,—nay, unless it is maintained, that even on the most favourable supposition, of his total failure, he will then be pursued into his own territory, and conquered by Spaniards on one side, while Germans assail him on the other; it is utterly absurd to desire a rupture in the North at the present moment.

Now, we will make the most favourable of these suppositions at once, in order to try the question shortly and fairly. We will admit that Bonaparte fails, and retires from Spain. He will then, in all likelihood, send back to them the Spanish royal family, with their princes and courtiers, and intriguers of all descriptions. It is probable that intestine disputes will speedily begin to play his game for him, and prepare his success at a future time, when experience shall have taught him the evils of that most unaccountable step of his life,—the removal of the Spanish court. It is certain that the presence of those exalted personages will hamper any offensive measures which the victorious patriots might attempt against him. But, putting this entirely out of the question, can there be folly and inconsistency more lamentable than theirs, who expect to see the French armies beaten by Spanish peasants, fighting for their own country,—and yet suppose that human nature will change when the French repass the Pyrenees,

Pyrenees, and that French armies, backed by the whole population of France, and fighting for France, and in France, will be conquered by Spaniſh peaſants fighting abroad for the balance of Europe! Is there not ſomething monſtrous in ſuch ſanguine, unthinking folly as this? Then, if the enemy is only to be left, at the end of the conteſt with Spain, in the ſituation he would have occupied had he never entered that country, what ſafety is there for thoſe German ſtates which ſhall have gone to war with him in his neceſſity? Admitting that he keeps on the frontier of the Pyrenees as many men as his complete conqueſt of Spain would have compelled him to keep beyond it, is he leſs able to take terrible vengeance on thoſe neighbours who may have provoked him at a critical moment, than he was when Pruſſia, in ſimilar circumſtances, provoked him laſt year? And is it very unlikely that he may ſeek compenſation on the Danube for his loſs of kingdoms on the Ebro and the Tagus? It ſignifies nothing to ſay, that Auſtria and Ruſſia, by attacking him at this time, would make a formidable diverſion in favour of the Spaniſh cauſe. Certainly they would; but our argument proceeds on the admiſſion that the Spaniards ſucceed at any rate; and if the ruin of Auſtria and Ruſſia is not to be prevented by the utmoſt ſucceſſes of the Spaniſh arms, then what will thoſe powers have done but ſacrifice themſelves to ſave Spain? And what will Europe have gained by their movement, but the independence of one country at the expense of all the reſt? Theſe are conſiderations ſo obvious, that they muſt prevent all thoſe follies on the part of the Continental Powers, which our Engliſh politicians have been ſo anxious to ſee practiſed. A combination, formed on ſuch principles of ſelf-devotion and love of Spain, cannot be expected; and, if tried, could not hang together for ſix weeks. We do acknowledge it to be our wiſh, therefore, that no fifth coalition ſhould be attempted in the preſent criſis; and ſee no reaſon whatever to vary in any one particular, the ſentiments ſo often delivered by us on this ſubject.

In what we have now ſaid, we have purpoſely abſtained from all alluſion to the chance of any diſcontent or inſurrection manifeſting itſelf in France, in conſequence of the ambitious and endleſs wars of its ruler. The experience of the laſt ten years might convince us how forlorn a hope this now is. The conſcription, no doubt, is unpopular; but the exiſting army is always far more than ſufficient to enforce it without the chance of reſiſtance; and that army is ſo conſtituted, as almoſt neceſſarily to delight in war, both as a ſource of emolument, and as holding out the occaſions by which enterprizing talents may certainly attain to the very higheſt diſtinction. Beſides, who is there now in France to head

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or organize an insurrection? Or what attainable or conceivable object could be aimed at by such a measure? Almost every individual who has any reputation, influence, or notoriety in the country, owes it to the existing government, and must stand or fall along with it. Among all his generals and ministers, there is none possessed of fame, popularity or power, to rival Bonaparte. The generation of republicans is extinct already among that light and profligate people: and the cause of the Bourbons may fairly be regarded as utterly desperate. If the exiled monarch is to be restored to his throne, his exiled nobles must be restored to their estates and privileges; but the thousands and tens of thousands who now hold those properties, will submit to many oppressions and many conscriptions rather than give them up. Besides, the government of the Bourbons was bad; and very few Frenchmen, we suppose, would give even a vote for replacing them on the throne of Bonaparte. A generation indeed has grown up which has been taught to look on their pretensions as ridiculous; and there has been nothing heroic or captivating in the conduct of any existing branch of the family, to win mens hearts to their cause, or to prevent the total suppression of their party in the country by which they have been rejected. If there were no insurrections in France, in short, when Bonaparte marched its armies across the Vistula and the Niemen, we do not perceive any likelihood of such an event from his carrying them across the Pyrenees. The people of France, we apprehend, care as little for the rights of the Spanish patriots, as for those of the citizens of Hamburgh; and, at any rate, are not very likely to feel much admiration for the champions of such a sovereign as Ferdinand the VII. From France itself, therefore, we hold it to be altogether extravagant and unreasonable to look for any cooperation.

Secondly, With respect to peace, Mr Whitbread says merely, Send a negotiator to Bayonne to treat for peace to yourselves; but do not give up, in any the smallest particular, the interests of your Spanish allies. We cannot approve of such a proposition; because no man could persuade the Spaniards, and surely our own conduct on former occasions would not countenance the belief that we were not giving them up, and making for ourselves a peace which should leave them at the mercy of France. If, indeed, we could suppose a manifesto issued by royal authority, proclaiming our willingness to treat upon the basis of France withdrawing all her forces from Spain, and making it known to all the world, that, for the independence and safety of that country, we were willing to give up our own quarrel with France,—this indeed could lead to no mistake, and leave nothing obscure to serve as the ground of suspicion. And no man surely

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can deny, that if we could gain such terms, and could put an end to the present war, stopping the conquests of the enemy, and leaving Europe as it now is,—with Spain revolutionized, independent, and hostilely disposed towards France,—it would be a blessing to ourselves and to the whole world, abundantly more valuable than any thing which could result from the greatest successes to which any reasonable man can look forward from the prolongation of hostilities. On the other hand, it is, to be sure, most likely that the enemy will reject such an offer, and refuse to treat. He never treats when he is in the way of being worsted; he is a skilful gamester, and leaves his play only when he is winning. Then we shall gain nothing, it may be said, for ourselves and our allies by having made the proposal. At all events we shall lose nothing. But it is not clear that that will be all. Will the people of the Continent not begin to think us in the right—for the first time? Will the French themselves not begin to murmur against their leader, or at least to follow him with less ardour in his conquests? Above all, will the Spaniards, for whom we shall have offered to yield every thing,—will they not stand by us with increased steadiness, and fight their own battle with new spirit? These things, it appears to us, are worth the consideration even of the most sanguine speculators in Spanish victories. But we are aware, at the same time, that they are unhappily almost as chimerical as some of the expectations which we have described in the course of the present discussion. They are little suited to the feelings of the English multitude; or the corresponding views and policy of the present race of English statesmen. Nor can we help feeling a melancholy presentiment, that, in a few months, the fortunes of France will have prevailed over the most righteous cause that ever fixed the attention of mankind; that the armies of Bonaparte will carry rapine and carnage into every corner of Spain; and that the fleets of our unhappy allies will, some how or other, find their way into an English port.

Before concluding, we may be permitted to add one sentence in explanation of such parts of the preceding observations as may appear to lead to utter and incurable despondency. If Germany and the North, combined against France, with Spain and England, would only provoke a repetition of defeat, what hope, it may be said, can Europe *ever* entertain of deliverance; since her *whole* force is thus supposed to be ineffectually exerted against her oppressors? Now, to this we answer,—That though we can indeed anticipate no other result from any exertions that can *at present* be made by those powers, or from any combination into which they are now likely to enter, we are at the same time persuaded, that there is in Europe a fund both of power and of spirit, far more

than sufficient to repress the usurpations of France, if guided by better counsels, and husbanded in the mean time with economy and caution. All the great Continental powers have recently received a tremendous blow,—from the shock of which they are yet far from being recovered; and the truth is, that while their old governments are administered on the principles by which they have hitherto been guided, and while their coalitions are directed to such objects as have hitherto been aimed at,—there does appear to us to be *no chance* of their making any effectual resistance to the solid power and energetic policy of the enemy. The fatal experience, however, which they have all had of the fruits of their old policy, joined to the improving intelligence of the great body of the people, and the mingled contempt and indignation with which they must regard the infatuation of their rulers, will, we have no doubt, produce an amelioration of all these governments, and gradually develop the powers and resources of those great and enlightened nations which in this great crisis have been administered with less wisdom and vigour than might have been expected in a confederacy of barbarians. A certain period of peace and tranquillity is necessary, however, to effect this amelioration; and will, at the same time, infallibly tend to relax the energy of the French administration, and to surround it with all those sources of weakness which ultimately disarm despotic governments of their power to injure. To provoke the combat prematurely, is to insure defeat and irremediable ruin. To force the old governments,—while they are still clinging to the policy they have ceased to confide in,—to try their strength once more, against an enemy, who has not yet yielded to the corruptions which are daily assailing him,—is to make sure of the final overthrow of the former, and, by consolidating all Europe into one tyrannical and military despotism, to cut off, for ages yet to come, the great improvements which time itself would otherwise work among mankind. Let the Continent, therefore, preserve what it has left of independence, by peace; since, at present, it would be utterly ruined by war; and let us be persuaded, that if, by any exertions on our part, we could procure the same blessing for Spain in the present state of its tendencies and feelings, we should do more for the cause of liberty and national independence, than if we could once more array the courts of Vienna, and Petersburgh, and Berlin, in a jealous and unwieldy coalition.

ART.

ART. XII. *Illustrations of Shakspeare, and of Antient Manners: with Dissertations on the Clowns and Fools of Shakspeare; on the Collection of Popular Tales entitled Gesta Romanorum; and on the English Morris Dance.* By Francis Douce. The Engravings on Wood by J. Berryman. In 2 vol. 8vo. Longman, &c. London. 1807.

THE real admirers of Shakspeare, we believe, care very little about his commentators. Yet, if we wish to understand every word of an author who wrote more than two hundred years ago, we must accept of the services of the antiquary and verbal critic. A short glossary, a few explanations of old usages, and a few suggestions for the restoration of a corrupted text, would be gratefully accepted, and generally consulted. But these helps become hinderances,—and nuisances indeed of the first magnitude, when they swell to six times the bulk of the original author, and engage us, at every tenth line, in the paltry polemics of purblind annotators, and grovelling transcribers of black letter. The great popularity of Shakspeare has held out such temptations to this industrious class of beings, that we have now an edition of his thirty-five plays distended into twenty-one thick octavos; in which the text bears such a slender proportion to the commentary, that he who wishes to read nothing but Shakspeare, must keep his forefinger constantly employed in turning over the leaves,—and frequently earn no more by the labour than a single line in a page. When we look into the mass which fills the remainder of it, we find it made up of long quotations from contemporary authors, tedious dissertations on old customs, and keen and solemn controversies upon the comparative merit of rival readings or projects of punctuation.

There is no doubt that we pick up, in this way, little odds and ends of information as to the manners and tastes of our ancestors; and occasionally attain to a more correct conception of some of the less interesting passages in the author under consideration. But this petty sort of antiquarianism probably is not the object of any one who takes up the volumes of Shakspeare; and the scanty elucidation which the poet now and then receives, makes us but poor amends for the quantity of trash which is obtruded upon us, with or without the apology of a difficulty. One great evil of this is, the encouragement of pedantry and laborious trifling. The name of Shakspeare sanctifies, to a certain degree, every thing that is closely connected with it; and that miserable erudition, which would otherwise have gone to enrich the Gentleman's Magazine, or to add weight to some county history, is in danger of acquiring a more extended reputation, when

it appears as an illustration of his writings. The worst effect, however, of this extravagant system of annotation is, that it destroys a great part of the pleasure which we should otherwise receive from perusing the excellent authors upon whom it attaches itself. We are not only disturbed, as we go along, with the perpetual intrusion of the commentator: but can scarcely ever recal to our memory any of our favourite passages, without finding them defiled by the adherence of some of his filth and tatters. After poring over the elaborate and controversial elucidations which are fastened upon every page, we can never read or remember any passage in the book, without some unsuitable recollection of this base accompaniment; and, instead of having our minds filled with the sentiments and imagery of Shakspeare, find them fatigued and depressed by the ponderous feebleness of his commentators. There is no getting a morsel of pure Shakspeare, in short, when we have once mixed him with these viler ingredients; and we recollect the happy days when we knew nothing of commentators, and little of difficulties, with something of the same feeling with which we recal the irrecoverable innocence and simplicity of childhood.

Of these merciless annotators, however, some are more intolerable than others. Some keep their author, though at a distance, in sight; and obtrude fewer solid masses of antiquated stupidity, under the name of parallel passages, or authorities for a doubtful interpretation. Even when they do leave the author, too, they give us curious morsels of etymology, and select something entertaining from their stores of old absurdity. Mr Douce, we suppose, is as good as any of them. Yet we think him, upon the whole, very feeble and very dull; and must set down his book among those which it is impossible to peruse without feelings of compassion for the incredible labour which has been expended, with so little return either of instruction or amusement. We shall give a few specimens both of what appears trifling and foolish, and of what is curious and new in these volumes.

It seems to be a natural infirmity of all commentators, to suppose their author as destitute of originality or invention as themselves; and, consequently, they are perpetually on the alert to discover *parallel passages* in contemporary or preceding authors, and to suggest the probability of plagiarism or imitation, in the case of the most natural thoughts and most familiar expressions. Thus, because Prospero, describing his deportation, says that the traitors

> 'Bore us some leagues to sea; where they prepar'd
> A rotten carcass of a boat, not rigg'd,
> Nor tackle, sail, nor mast'—

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Mr Douce is pleased to suppose, that this must have been borrowed from some earlier writer; and that Shakspeare must have had in his eye the old romance of King Horn,—though he admits itto be next to impossible that he should ever have seen a line of it.

'The present note,' he says, 'is more particularly offered to the admirers of antient romances, and to which class Shakspeare himself no doubt belonged. It is well known, that the earliest English specimen of these singular and fascinating compositions is the *Geste of King Horn*, which has been faithfully published by the late Mr Ritson, who has given some account of a French copy in the British Museum. He did not live to know that another manuscript of this interesting romance, in the same language, is still remaining in private hands, very different in substance and construction from the other. One might almost conclude, that some English translation of it existed in Shakspeare's time, and that he had, in the above passage, imitated the following description of the boat in which Horn and his companions were put by king Rodmund at the suggestion of Browans.

" Sire, fet il purnez un de vos vielz chalanz
Metez icels valez ki jo vei ici estanz
Kil naient avirum dunt ascient aidanz
Sigle ne guvernad dunt il seint vaianz." l. 58.

That is, " Sir, said he, take one of your old boats; put into it these varlets whom I see here; let them have no oars to help them, sail nor rudder to put them in motion." I. 2, 3.

In the same way, because Caliban enumerates 'scraping of trenchers' as a part of his domestic drudgery, Mr Douce insists upon quoting Latin and old English, to satisfy his readers that Shakspeare might have learned from these grave authorities that there was actually such an occupation, and that it was not esteemed honourable.

'*Scraping trenchers* was likewise a scholastic employment at college, if we may believe the illiterate parson in the pleasant comedy of *Cornelianum dolium*, where, speaking of his haughty treatment of the poor scholars whom he had distanced in getting possession of a fat living, he says, " Illi inquam, qui ut mihi narrârunt, quadras adipe illitas deglubere sunt coacti, quamdiu inter academicas ulnas manent, dapsili more à me nutriti sunt, saginati imò," &c. It was the office, too, of apprentices. In *The life of a satirical puppy called Nim*, 1657, 12mo, a citizen describes how long " he bore the watertankard, *scrap't trenchers*, and made clean shoes." I. 17, 18.

In like manner, when Shakspeare makes Miranda say, in the very language of nature and simple feeling,

'I am your wife, if you will marry me;
If not, I'll die your maid: to be your fellow
You may deny me; but I'll be your servant
Whether you will or no.' I. p. 18, 19.

Mr Malone insists, it seems, that the sentiment must have been

borrowed *from Catullus*; but Mr Douce, though he is of opinion that the passage is 'very apposite,' is rather inclined to think, that Shakespeare 'had in his eye the pathetic old poem of the Nut Brown Maid.'

It would be endless to quote instances of this absurdity. We add only the two following, which stand together a few pages further on. In the play of Measure for Measure, Isabella says,

'Could great men thunder
As Jove himself does, Jove would ne'er be quiet,
For ev'ry pelting petty officer
Would use his heaven for thunder; nothing but thunder.' I. 126, 127.

Upon which Mr Douce thus learnedly comments.

'This fine sentiment, which nevertheless contains a very obvious fault in the mode of expressing it, *appears to have been suggested by the following lines in Ovid's Tristia, lib. ii.*, that Skakspeare might have read in Churchyard's translation.

"Si quoties peccant homines sua fulmina mittat
Jupiter, exiguo tempore inermis erit." I. 127.

And again,

"Merciful heaven!
Thou rather with thy sharp and sulphurous bolt
Split'st the unwedgeable and gnarled oak,
Than the soft myrtle."

'There is much affinity between the above lines and these in Persius, sat. ii.

"Ignovisse putas, quia, cum tonat, ocyus ilex
Sulfure discutitur sacro, quam tuque domusque?"

But although there were two or three editions of that author published in England in the reign of Elizabeth, he does not appear to have been then translated.' I. 127.

As a still more extraordinary example of the obtrusion of classical and learned allusions into a commentary on Shakspeare, we may take the following critique on a criticism on a print from a picture of Guido. In the Two Gentlemen of Verona, there is the following passage—

"——'twas Ariadne, passioning,
For Theseus' perjury and unjust flight."

On occasion of which lines, Mr Douce thus addresses the readers of Shakspeare—

'A note is here inserted, "not" says its learned and classical author, "on the business of Shakspeare," but to introduce a conjecture relating to one of Guido's paintings commonly supposed to represent Ariadne as deserted by Theseus and courted by Bacchus, but which he conceives to have been intended for Bacchus's desertion of this lady for an Indian captive. An attentive examination of the print from Guido's picture will, it is presumed, incline any one

one to hesitate much before he shall decide on having discerned any traces of an Indian princess; and this supposed character may rather turn out to be Venus introducing the amorous deity, attended by his followers, to Ariadne, forlorn and abandoned by Theseus in the isle of Chios, according to Ovid, or Naxos, according to Lactantius. Nor is the female who accompanies Bacchus "hanging on his arm," as stated by the critic. It is impossible likewise to perceive in this figure the modest looks or demeanour of a female captive, or in the supposed Bacchus the character of a lover, insulting, according to Ovid's description, his former mistress, by displaying the beauties of another. Boccaccio has very comically accounted for Ariadne's desertion by Theseus, and her subsequent transfer to Bacchus. He supposes the lady to have been too fond of the juice of the grape; and that, on her continuing to indulge this propensity, she was therefore called the wife of Bacchus. See *Geneal. deor.* lib. xi. c. 29.' I. 46, 47.

Of notes that are purely trifling and useless, there is great choice in these volumes. The reader must take the first that comes to our hand. For instance, in Measure for Measure,

"1. Gent. How now, which of your *hips* has the most profound *sciatica?*"

'A most appropriate question to the bawd. The author of the facetious Latin comedy of *Cornelianum dolium* has named one of Cornelius's strumpets *Sciatica.* She thus speaks of herself; "In lectulo meo ægrè me vertere potui; podagram, chiragram, et *hip*agram (si ita dicere liceat) nocte quotidie sensi." I. 121, 122.

And immediately after,

"Bawd. What's to do here, *Thomas* Tapster?"

'Why does she call the clown by this name, when it appears from his own showing that his name was *Pompey?* Perhaps she is only quoting some old saying or ballad.' I. 122.

The following is more sublimely mysterious, and to us, we will confess, utterly unintelligible.

"Duke. And the *frec* maids that weave their threads with bones."

'The private memoirs of Peter the wild boy, if they could be disclosed, would afford the best comment on the above disputed epithet, as applied to the *websters* in question.' I. 88.

In the Twelfth Night the Clown says,

"And in *sad cypress* let me be laid."

Upon which important passage the commentators, it seems, have set on foot a notable controversy; the one party maintaining, that the speaker alluded to a shroud of cypress (or Cyprus) linen; and the other, that he was thinking of a coffin of cypress wood. Mr Douce mediates thus impartially between them.

'Mr Steevens has in this edition cancelled a brother commentator's note, which ought on every account to have been retained, and

has himself attempted to show that a *shroud*, and not a *coffin* of cypress, or Cyprus, is intended. It is no easy matter, from the ambiguity of the word, to decide the question. The cypress-tree was used by the antients for funereal purposes, and dedicated to Pluto. As it was not liable to perish from rottenness, it appears to have been used for coffins. See Mr Gough's Introduction to *Sepulchral monuments*, p. lxvi. In Quarles's *Argalus and Parthenia*, book iii. a knight is introduced, whose

" ——————— horse was black as jet,
His furniture was round about beset
With branches, slipt from the *sad cypresse tree.*"

'In further behalf of the wood, it may be worth remarking, that the expression *laid* seems more applicable to a coffin than to a shroud, in which a party may with greater propriety be said to be *wrapped*; and also, that the shroud is afterwards expressly mentioned by itself. It is nevertheless very certain, that the fine linen called Cyprus, perhaps from being originally manufactured in the island of that name, was used for shrouds. In the churchwardens' accounts of St Mary's, Cambridge, mention is made of *a syprys kyrcher belonging to the cross.* In this instance, there being the figure of a dead body on the cross, the cyprus was designed as a shroud.' I. 88—90.

In Measure for Measure, a slight and transient mention is made of

" One *Ragozine*, a most notorious pirate,"

—which is just as much, we suppose, as most readers of the play would wish, or have any need to know about him. The commentators, however, have had leisure, it seems, to institute a learned inquiry after this important person, and to quarrel among themselves, as usual, in the course of it. Mr Douce sums it up as follows.

'Mr Heath had supposed that *Ragozine* was put for *Ragusan, i. e.* a native of the city of *Ragusa* on the gulf of Venice, famous for its trading vessels; but it was incumbent on that gentleman to have shown that the inhabitants of the above city were *pirates.* This, however, would have been extremely difficult, if not impossible; for, on the contrary, Rycaut, in his *State of the Ottoman empire*, has expressly declared that the *Ragusans* never offered injury; but that, on receiving any, they very patiently supported it. Wherever Shakspeare met with the name of *Ragozine*, it should seem to be a *metathesis* of the French *Argousin*, or the Italian *Argosino, i. e.* an officer or lieutenant on board a galley; and, as Menage conjectures, a corruption of the Spanish *Alguasil.* See Carpentier *Suppl. ad gloss. Dufresne* under the word *Argoisillo.*' I. 143.

In Love's Labours Lost, Armado speaks of 'a quick *venew* of wit;' upon the meaning of which word a most solemn debate has been maintained by Messrs Steevens and Malone; which is continued by Mr Douce through many pages of profound learning.

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'"A venew," says Mr Steevens, "is the technical term for a *bout* (or *set-to*, as he had before called it in vol. iii. p. 317,) at the fencing school." On the other hand, Mr Malone maintains, that "a venue is *not* a *bout* at fencing but a *hit*;" and his opponent retorts on the ground of *positiveness* of denial. As the present writer has himself been an amateur and practitioner of the noble science of defence, he undertakes on this occasion the office of umpire between the sturdy combatants.

'The quotations adduced on either side are not calculated to ascertain the clear and genuine sense of the word *venew*, and it is therefore necessary to seek for more decisive evidence respecting its meaning. Howel, in his *Lexicon tetraglotton*, 1660, mentions "a veny in fencing; venue, *touche*, toca;" and afterwards more fully in his vocabulary, sect. xxxii. "A foin, *veny*, or stoccado; la botta; la *touche*, le *coup*." In Sir John Harrington's *Life of Dr Still*, is the following expression: "he would not sticke to warne them in the arguments to take heede to their answers, like a perfect fencer that will tell afore-hand in which button he will give the *venew*." *Nugæ antiquæ*, vol. ii. p. 158, edit. 1804, by Park. In Ben Jonson's *Every man in his humour*, Act i. Sc. 5, Bobadil, in answer to Master Matthew's request for *one venue*, says, "Venue! fie: most gross denomination as ever I heard; O, the *stoccata*, while you live, sir, note that." On this passage, Mr Reed, in a note on the play of *The widow's tears*, Dodsley's *Old plays*, vol. vi. 152, observes,' &c. &c. I. 233, 234.

We dare not try the patience of our readers with the rest of this dissertation; but it is closed with the following impartial and oracular decision.

'On the whole, therefore, it appears that *venew* and *bout* equally denote a *hit* in fencing; that both Mr Steevens and Mr Malone are right in this respect; but that the former gentleman is inaccurate in supposing a *venew* to mean a *set-to*, and the latter equally so in asserting that "a *venew* is *not* a *bout*." I. 237.

The solemnity and mock importance of this sage determination is exceeded, if possible, by the following comment upon that momentous declaration of Mr Justice Shallow, 'I was then Sir Dagonet in Arthur's show.'

'The question whether Shallow represented Sir Dagonet at Mile-end-green, or at Clement's-inn,—although it has been maintained on either side with great plausibility, must ever remain undecided; but Mr Malone's acute and ingenious conjecture, that *Arthur's show* was an *exhibition of archery*, and not an *interlude*, will no longer admit of any doubt. The truth of both these positions will appear from the following circumstances,' &c. I. 460, 461.

Among the vast multitude of notes furnished by the commentators on Shakspeare, there are very few that pretend to be of a general, moral, or philosophical nature. Mr Douce, we think, has only

only ventured on two or three; and truly those who read the following will be apt to commend him for his forbearance. The first is a pathetic and sentimental disquisition upon *hanging*,—and runs as follows.

'It seems therefore more probable, that "hang'd an hour" alludes to the *time* usually allotted for torturing the miserable object of the barbarous punishment by suspension, which is justly execrated by Randle Holme as "a dog's death," and always excites in the spectator a strange mixture of ludicrous and shocking sensations. It dishonours the living more than it degrades the criminal. The Turkish bowstring were much less offensive to the feelings of humanity: but the more solemn and decorous infliction of death, if inflicted it must be! would, as in military cases, be the stroke of the bullet, provided such a measure could be adopted without offending the soldier's honour. The preeminent mercy of the English law disdains to augment the horrors of premature dissolution by personal pain and torture; its object is to prevent or diminish the commission of the crime. On this principle, one could wish that, on the close of the usual necessary and consolatory preparation for death, some mode of stupefying the offender were adopted; that no sensation of torture on his part might be felt, nor any other on that of the spectator, than a satisfaction that the sentence of the law had been fulfilled. For this digression no apology can be necessary.' I. 144, 145.

Another is about music and Dr Johnson and Mr Steevens. It is introduced on occasion of the famous passage, 'The man that hath no music in himself,' &c.—and must be given at large, as being nearly the most eloquent and magnanimous of all Mr Douce's performances.

'Had the sentiments in the note on this passage been expressed by Dr Johnson, disorganized as he was for the enjoyment of music, it would not have been matter to wonder at: but that such a man as Mr Steevens, whose ordinary speech was melody, and whose correct and elegant ear for poetical concord is so frequently manifested in the course of his Shakspearean labours, should have shown himself a very Timon in music, can only be accounted for by supposing that he regarded the speech in question as a libel on his great colleague's organization. He has here assumed a task, which Dr Johnson would for obvious reasons have declined; and with the feeble aid of an illiberal passage from Lord Chesterfield's *Letters*, has most disingenuously endeavoured to cast an odium on a science which, from its intimate and natural connexion with poetry and painting, deserves the highest attention and respect. He that is happily qualified to appreciate the *better parts* of music, will never seek them in the society so emphatically reprobated by the noble lord, nor altogether in the way he recommends. He will not lend an ear to the vulgarity and tumultuous roar of the tavern catch, or the delusive sounds of martial clangour; but he will enjoy this heavenly gift, this exquisite and soul-delighting sensation, in the temples

ples of his God, or in the peaceful circles of domestic happiness: he will pursue the blessings and advantages of it with ardour, and turn aside from its abuses.

'The quotation which Mr Steevens has given from Peacham, is in reality an *encomium* on music as practised in the time of Shakspeare. It indicates that gentlemen then associated with their equals only in the pursuit of this innocent recreation; and the same writer would have furnished many other observations that tend to place the science of music in an amiable, or at least in a harmless point of view. Mr Steevens might also have recollected that Cicero has called it—"Stabilem thesaurum, qui *mores* instituit, componitque, ac mollit irarum ardores." It will be readily conceded that Shakspeare has overcharged the speech before us, and that it by no means follows that a man who is unmusical must be a traitor, a Machiavel, a robber; or that he is deserving of no confidence. This, however, is all that should have occupied the commentator's notice; and herein his castigation would have been really meritorious. The Italians, too, have a proverb that is equally reprehensible: "Whom God loves not, that man loves not music." Let such extravagancies be consigned to the censure they deserve!' I. 269—271.

The proportion of notes that are properly explanatory, is extremely small; and, even of these, we think the greater part obviously, and even perversely erroneous. We do not pretend to any extraordinary skill in this work of interpretation; but the elaborate blundering of Mr Douce, we really think, may be made apparent to the most unpractised eye. We take an example almost at random. In the celebrated scene, where Lady Macbeth stimulates her husband to the act of murder, he says,

'If we should fail!'

To which she answers,

'But screw your courage to the sticking-place,
And we'll not fail.'

Now, we would ask any one of our male or female readers, whether they ever found the least difficulty in this passage; and whether it is not perfectly evident that it means merely, brace up your resolution so firmly as not to be always wavering and slipping back; or, take courage, but to stick to the resolution you have formed. The metaphor, if it really be necessary to analyze it, is evidently taken from a windlass, or any other machine, in which there is a catch at certain distances, to prevent it from running back upon any momentary remission of the force by which it is moved. All this we take to be so plain, that it is irksome and humiliating to be obliged to state it in words. Mr Douce, however, thinks the passage absolutely requires an interpretation; and what is the interpretation which this learned and ingenious person proposeth? Why, it is, that there is *an allusion to stabbing* in the expression; and,

and, in short, that *sticking-place*' means '*stabbing-place!*'—'Lady Macbeth,' we are told, 'after remarking that the enterprize could not fail if her husband would but exert his courage to the commission of the murder, proceeds to suggest *the particular manner* in which it was to be accomplished.' And, in further confirmation of this excellent gloss, we are informed, that 'the Scots have a proverb, Sticking goes not by strength, but by guiding of the gooly!' The matter is finally clenched by this piece of exquisite ratiocination. 'In short, if there be a metaphor, it signifies nothing; for *what would be the use of Macbeth's courage, if it were to remain fast in that sticking-place from which it was not to move?*' From which it would seem, that Mr Francis Douce mistakes a man's *courage* for his *hand*; or holds it to be quite manifest, that no one could possibly commit a murder, if he were to *stick fast* to his resolution of murdering.

The following instance appears to us little less extravagant. Every one knows the opening lines of Richard the Third.

'Now is the winter of our discontent
Made glorious summer by this sun of York:
And all the clouds,' &c.
Grim-visag'd War hath smooth'd his wrinkled front;
And now, instead of mounting barbed steeds
To fright the souls of fearful adversaries,
He capers nimbly in a lady's chamber,
To the lascivious pleasing of a lute.'

The question, says Mr Douce, is, *who* capers? Now, we do verily believe, that no one but a commentator would ever have made a question upon the subject; and that it admits of no sort of doubt, that it is *War* who capers,—after he has softened his grim visage, and smoothed his wrinkled front. Mr Douce, however, is of opinion, that it is not War, but *York*, who amuses himself in this manner; for which he gives these weighty and convincing reasons—that 'the amorous temper of that monarch is well known'—and 'that it is not easy to conceive *how* grim-visaged War could caper in a lady's chamber!'

We shall add but one more example of this darkening elucidation. Imogen, in maintaining the worthiness of her husband Posthumus against the accusation of her father, says,

——'he is
A man, worth any woman; over-buys me
Almost the sum he pays.'

Now, we can scarcely believe that there is any one reader of Shakspeare so dull, as to need an interpreter for this passage; or not to see that she means to say, Posthumus would be an equal match for the most excellent of all women; and in giving himself (the most common of all figures to express marriage) for me, who

who am worth very little, makes a very bad bargain. If the words taken by themselves admitted of any doubt, it would be removed by another expression in the earlier part of the same scene, where Posthumus, anticipating the princess in this very compliment, says,

'As I *my poor self* did exchange for you
To your so infinite loss,' &c.

With all this before his eyes, however, Mr Douce is pleased to suppose, that the sum paid by Posthumus for his royal bride, was not himself, but the *banishment* to which he was consequently condemned; and that Imogen meant to say to her father, 'The possession of me is much too dearly bought by the *banishment* to which you sentence him. He has almost nothing for so large a price!'

It would be easy to multiply examples of this edifying sort of annotation; but the task is too irksome and degrading to be pursued any further. We take our leave of Mr Douce's infirmities with the following almost incredible instance of ignorance. This learned commentator, finding Puck use the expression, 'Aurora's harbinger,' proceeds immediately to his vocation of citing parallel passages, and gives us the well known lines of Milton's famous song on May morning.

'Now the bright morning star, day's harbinger,
Comes dancing from the east,' &c.

To which, however, he annexes a note, stating, that 'it has not been recollected to what poet these lines belong!' This comes naturally enough, however, of black letter reading. If a man will stuff his head full of Gammer Gurton and Gabriel Harvey, he will soon find that he has no room for Milton or Virgil.

We should now take notice of what may be found curious or useful in Mr Douce's volumes; and, with that view, would willingly lay before our readers any emendations of the text that appeared to us ingenious or important. Mr Douce, however, has hazarded very little in this way; and the instances are so trifling, and the benefit derived from his corrections so inconsiderable, that they are really scarce worth mentioning. However, as they all seem plausible, we shall insert them. The first is in the Merry Wives of Windsor. Mrs Quickly says to the fat knight,

"There is one Mistress Ford, Sir:—I pray come a little nearer this ways:—I myself dwell with Master Doctor Caius.

"FAL. Well, on: Mistress Ford, you say"——

'Is it not more natural,' says Mr Douce, 'that Falstaff should in this first instance repeat the dame's own words, and say, "Well, one Mistress Ford you say." I. 67.

The next is in Twelfth Night, where the Clown says,

"I am afraid this great *lubber the world* will prove a cockney."

'A typographical corruption seems to have crept into this place from similitude of sound; but a very slight alteration will restore the

the ſenſe. The Clown is ſpeaking of *vent* as an affected word; and we ſhould therefore read "this great *lubberly word* will prove a cockney," *i. e.* will turn out to be cockney language.' I. 106.

This, we think, is by no means ſo plauſible as the former; both becauſe the turn of the expreſſion is a little ſtrained, and becauſe *vent* cannot well be deſcribed as a *great* word, however *lubberly* it may once have appeared. The only other correction that we have noted is in Cymbeline, where Arviragus, lamenting over the body of Imogen, ſays,

"——— the ruddock would,
With charitable bill,—bring thee all this;
Yea and furr'd moſs beſides, when flowers are none
To *winter-ground* thy corſe."

'With reſpect to *winter-ground;* until ſome other example of the uſe of this word be produced, there will be no impropriety in offering a ſubſtitute in *winter-green*, that is, "to preſerve thy tomb green with moſs in the winter ſeaſon, when there will be no flowers wherewith to deck it." Such a verb might have been ſuggeſted to Shakſpeare, who often coins in this way, by the plant *winter-green*, the *pyrola.*' II. 107, 108.

Some of the moſt curious and reſpectable parts of the work are thoſe in which the ſtory of a particular play, or ſcene of a play is traced through an incredible ſucceſſion of authors. It is impoſſible indeed to read theſe learned deductions, without ſhuddering at the thankleſs labour with which they muſt have been prepared; but they have all the reſpectability of erudition, and we ſuppoſe of accuracy. As a very ſhort ſpecimen, we annex the account of the ſtory of Meaſure for Meaſure. Mr Douce ſays,

'Three ſources whence the plot of this play might have been extracted, have already been mentioned, viz. Whetſtone's *Heptameron*, 1582, 4to; his *Promos and Caſſandra*, 1578, 4to; and novel 5. decad. 8. in Cinthio Giraldi. It is probable that the general outline of the ſtory is founded on fact, as it is related, with ſome variety of circumſtance, by ſeveral writers, and appears to have been very popular. It has therefore been thought worth while to point out the following works in which it occurs.

'In Lipſii *Monita et exempla politica*, Antverp. 1613, 4to, cap. viii. Charles the bold, duke of Burgundy, cauſes one of his noblemen to be put to death for offending in the manner that Angelo would have done; but he is firſt compelled to marry the lady. This ſtory has been copied from Lipſius into Wanley's *Wonders of the little world*, book iii. ch. 29. edit. 1678, folio; and from Wanley into that favourite little chap book Burton's *Unparalleled varieties*, p. 42. See likewiſe *The ſpectator*, NO. 491. This event was made the ſubject of a French play by Antoine Maréchal, called *Le jugement équitable de Charles le hardy*, 1646, 4to. Here the offender is called Rodolph

dolph governor of Maestrick, and by theatrical licence turns out to be the duke's own son. Another similar story of Charles's upright judgment may be found in the third volume of Goulart's *Thrésor d'histoires admirables*, 1628, 8vo, p. 373.

'Much about the time when the above events are supposed to have happened, Olivier le Dain, for his wickedness surnamed the Devil, originally the barber and afterwards the favourite of Louis XI. is said to have committed a similar offence, for which he was deservedly hanged. See Godefroy's edition of the *Memoirs of Philip de Comines*, Brussels, 1723, 8vo, tom. v. p. 55.

'At the end of Belleforest's translation of Bandello's novels, there are three additional of his own invention. The first of these relates to a captain, who, having seduced the wife of one of his soldiers, under a promise to save the life of her husband, exhibited him soon afterwards *through the window of his apartment* suspended on a gibbet. His commander, the marshal de Brissac, after compelling him to marry the widow, adjudges him to death. The striking similitude of a part of this story to what Mr Hume has related of colonel Kirke will present itself to every reader, and perhaps induce some to think with Mr Ritson, (however they will differ in *his mode* of expressing the sentiment), that Mr Hume's narration is "an impudent and barefaced lie." See *The quip modest*, p. 30. A defence also of Kirke may be seen in the *Monthly magazine*, vol. ii. p. 544. Yet though we may be inclined to adopt this side of the question, it will only serve to diminish, in a single instance, the atrocities of that sanguinary monster.

'In Lupton's *Siquila, Too good to be true*, 1580, 4to, there is a long story of a woman, who, her husband having slain his adversary in a duel, goes to the judge for the purpose of prevailing on him to remit the sentence of the law. He obtains of her, in the first place, a large sum of money, and afterwards the reluctant prostitution of her person, under a solemn promise to save her husband. The rest, as in Belleforest's novel.

'In volume i. of Goulart's *Thrésor d'histoires admirables*, above cited, there are two stories on this subject. The first in p. 300, is of a citizen of Como in Italy, who in 1547 was detained prisoner by a Spanish *captain* on a charge of murder. The wife pleads for him as before, and obtains a promise of favour on the same terms. The husband recommends her compliance, after which the Spaniard beheads him. Complaint is made to the *Duke* of *Ferrara*, who compels the captain to marry the widow, and then orders him to be hanged. The other, in p. 304, is of a provost named *La Vouste*, whose conduct resembles that of the other villain's, with this addition: He says to the woman, "I promised to restore your husband; I have not kept him, here he is." No punishment is inflicted on this fellow.

'The last example to be mentioned on this occasion occurs in Cooke's *Vindication of the professors and profession of the law*, 1646, 4to,

4to, p. 61. During the wars between Charles the Fifth and Francis the First, one Raynucio had been imprisoned at Milan for betraying a fort to the French. His wife petitions the governor Don Garcias in his favour, who refuses to listen but on dishonourable terms, which are indignantly rejected. The husband, like Claudio in *Measure for measure*, at first commends the magnanimity of his wife, and submits to his sentence; but when the time for his execution approaches, his courage fails him, and he prevails on his wife to acquiesce in the governor's demands. A sum of ten thousand crowns is likewise extorted from the unhappy woman, and she receives in return the dead body of her husband. The Duke of Ferrara, Hercules of Este, who was general for the Emperor, is informed of the circumstance. He first persuades the governor to marry the lady, and then orders him to be beheaded. p. 152—156.

At p. 107 of the firſt volume, there is a long and learned account of the ceremony of *betrothing*: and a curious variety of *pillories*, at p. 146. The following particulars as to the ſervants and retainers of antient times, appear to us to be more intereſting.

'The practice of giving liveries to menial servants has not originated in modern times. It is mentioned in some of the statutes made in the reign of Richard the Second. In that of Edward the Fourth the terms *livery* and *badge* appear to have been synonymous, the former having no doubt been borrowed from the French language, and signifying a thing *delivered*. The badge consisted of the master's device, crest, or arms, on a separate piece of cloth, or sometimes silver, in the form of a shield, fastened to the left sleeve. Greene, in his *Quip for an upstart courtier*, speaking of some servingmen, says "their cognizance, as I remember, was a peacocke without a tayle." In queen Elizabeth's time the nobility gave silver badges, as appears from Hentzner's *Travels*, p. 156, edit. Norimb. 1612, 4to. "Angli magnifici domi foriſque magna aſſectantium famulorum agmini ſecum trahunt, quibus in *ſiniſtro brachio ſcuta ex argento facta* appendunt." But this foolish extravagance was not limited to persons of high rank. Fynes Moryson, speaking of the English apparel, informs us that "the servants of *gentlemen* were wont to weare *blew coates*, with their masters badge of silver on the left sleeve, but now they most commonly weare clokes garded with lace, all the servants of one family wearing the same liverie for colour and ornament:" we are therefore to suppose that the sleeve badge was left off in the reign of James I. Yet the badge was at one time so general an accompaniment to a blue coat, that when any thing wanted its usual appendage, it was *proverbially* said to be *like a blue coat without a badge*.

'The custom of clothing persons in liveries and badges was not confined to menial servants. Another class of men called *retainers*, who appear to have been of no small importance among our ancestors, were habited in a similar manner. They were a sort of servants,

vants, not residing in the master's house like other menial domestics, but attending occasionally for the purpose of ostentation, and *retained* by the annual donation of a livery consisting of a hat or hood, a badge, and a suit of clothes. As they were frequently kept for the purpose of maintaining quarrels and committing other excesses, it became necessary to impose heavy penalties on the offenders, both masters and retainers. In process of time they were licensed. Strype complains of the too great indulgence of queen Mary in this respect. "She granted," says he, "more by half in her short five years than her sister and successor in thirteen. For in all that time there were but fifteen licenses of retainer granted; whereas queen Mary had granted nine-and-thirty. She was more liberal also in yielding the number of retainers to each person, which sometimes *amounted to two hundred*; whereas queen Elizabeth never yielded above *an hundred* to any person of the greatest quality, and that rarely too. But Bishop Gardiner began that ill example, who retained two hundred men; whereas under queen Elizabeth the duke of Norfolk retained but an hundred; and Parker, archbishop of Canterbury, but forty." He has added a list of the persons to whom Mary granted licenses and the number of persons retained. *Eccl. memorials*, iii. 479.

'Nor did these retainers always consist of men of low condition. The entertaining author of a book entitled *A health to the gentlemanly profession of serving men, or the serving man's comfort*, 1598, 4to, (to whom these notes have occasionally been indebted, and who with good reason is supposed to have been Jervis Markham), has certainly alluded to them in the following curious passage, wherein he is consoling the objects of his labour. "Amongst what sort of people should then this serving man be sought for? Even the dukes sonne preferred page to the prince, the earles seconde sonne attendant upon the duke, the knights seconde sonne the earles servant, the esquires sonne *to weare the knightes liverie*, and the gentlemans sonne the esquiers serving man: Yea I know at this day, gentlemen younger brothers, *that weares their elder brothers blew coate and badge*, attending him with as reverend regard and duetifull obedience, as if he were their prince or sovoraigne." I. 334—337.

Some readers may be gratified by perusing the following observations on the introduction of the word 'Majesty,' as a title of royalty.

'Dr Johnson remarks, that "*majesty* was not the settled title till the time of King James the First." In a note to vol. i. p. 97, of the lives of *Leland, Hearne, and Wood*, it is said that our kings had not the title of *majesty* in the reign of Henry the Eighth; and another note in Dr Warburton's edition of the Dunciad, b. iv. l. 176, states that James was the first who assumed the title of *sacred majesty*; all which information is unsupported by authority.

'On the other hand, Camden more correctly says, that "*majesty*

came hither in the time of King Henry the Eighth, as *sacred majesty* lately in our memory." *Remains concerning Britain*, p. 198, edit. 1674, 8vo. Selden, referring to this passage, wishes it to be understood so far as it relates to the title being "commonly in use and properly to the king applied," because he adduces an instance of the use of *majesty* so early as the reign of Henry the Second. In a letter from Queen Elizabeth to Edward the Sixth, she signs "Your *majesties* humble sister," and addresses it "To the kinges *most excellent majestie*," Harl. MS. No. 6986. In the same volume is a most extraordinary letter in Italian to Elizabeth, beginning, "Serenissima et *sacratissima majesta*," which shows that Camden, who wrote what he says above early in 1603, must rather refer to Elizabeth than James the First.

'The use of *majesty* is ascribed by the learned authors of the *Nouveau traité de diplomatique* to Gondemar king of the Visigoths, and to the kings of Lorraine in the seventh century; but in France it is not traceable before the year 1360, about which time Raoul de Presle, in the dedication to his translation of Saint Augustin *De civitate Dei*, thus addresses Charles the Fifth, "Si supplie à vostre *royalle majesté*." It was, however, but sparingly used till the reign of Louis XI. In the treaty of Cressy the emperor Charles V. is called *imperial majesty*, and Francis I. *royal majesty*. In that of Château Cambresis, Henry II. is entitled *most christian majesty*, and Philip II. *catholic majesty*. Pasquier has some very curious remarks in reprobation of the use of *majesty*. See *Recherches de la France* liv. viii. ch. 5.

'Both Camden and Selden agree that the title of *Grace* began about the time of Henry the Fourth, and of *excellent Grace* under Henry the Sixth.' II. 12, 13.

Mr Douce affords us several instances of ingenious etymology. The following of the word *apron*, appears to us meritorious.

'Minsheu and others conceived that this word was derived from *afore one*, an etymology that perfectly accords with the burlesque manner of Dean Swift. It has been also deduced from the Greek words πρὸ and πέρι; the Latin *porro* and *operio*, &c. &c. Skinner, with more plausibility, has suggested the Saxon *aforan*. After all, *an apron* is no more than a corruption of *a napron*, the old and genuine orthography. Thus, in *The mery adventure of the pardonere and tapstere*.

"——————— and therwith to wepe
She made, and with her *napron* feir and white ywash
She wypid soft hir eyen for teris that she outlash
As grete as any mylstone—" *Urrys Chaucer*, p. 594.

'We have borrowed the word from the old French *naperon*, a large cloth. See Carpentier *Suppl. ad Cangium*, v. *Naperii*. So *napkin*, which has perplexed our dictionary-makers, is only a *little* cloth, from *nappe*.' II. 7, 8.

The derivation of *cockney*, is more elaborate and less satisfactory.

Mr

Mr Douce is of opinion that this appellative has had more origins than one. The leading one he describes as follows.

'There is hardly a doubt that it originates in an Utopian region of indolence and luxury, formerly denominated the country of *cocaigne*,* which, as some have thought, was intimately connected with the art of *cookery*; whilst others, with equal plausibility, relate that the little pellets of woad, a commodity in which Languedoc was remarkably fertile, being called by the above name, the province itself acquired the appellation of the kingdom of *Cocaigne*, or of plenty, where the inhabitants lived in the utmost happiness, and exempt from every sort of care and anxiety. Hence the name came to be applied to any rich country. Boileau calls Paris *un pays de cocagne*. The French have likewise some theatrical pieces under this title. The Italians have many allusions to it; and there is said to be a small district between Rome and Loretto so called from its cheapness and fertility. With us the lines cited by Camden in his *Britannia*, vol. i. col. 451.

" Were I in my castle of Bungey
Upon the river of Waveney
I would ne care for the king of *Cockeney*, "

whencesoever they come, indicate that London was formerly known by this satirical name; *and hence a Londoner came to be called a cockney*. The French have an equivalent word, *coqueliner*, to pamper, cherish, or dandle, whence our *cocker*.

'From the above circumstances, it is probable that a cockney became at length a term of contempt; one of the earliest proofs of which is Chaucer's use of it in the *Reve's tale*, v. 4206: "I shall be halden a daffe or a *cokenay*." In the *Promptuarium parvulorum*, 1516, 4to, it is explained to be a term of derision. In Shakspeare's time it signified a child tenderly brought up, a dearling, a wanton. See Barret's *Alvearie*; and a little before it had been used in a bad sense, from an obvious corruption. See Hulæt's *Abcedarium*, 1552, folio. In this place too, Mr Steevens's quotations from Meres and Deckar might be introduced.' II. p. 151-158.

There is an elaborate dissertation on the word *Wassel*, of which we can only afford to give the introduction.

'There cannot be the smallest doubt,' says Mr Douce, 'that the term itself is to be sought for in the well-known story of Vortigern and Rowena, or Ronix, the daughter of Hengist; the earliest authority for which is that of Walter Calenius, who supplied the materials

'* This country has been humourously described by an old French fablier, from whose work an extract may be found in Mons. Legrand's entertaining collection of *Fabliaux*, tom. i. p. 251; and which verifies Mr Tyrwhitt's conjecture, that the old English poem first published by Hickes, *G. A. Sax.* p. 231, was a translation from the French. See *Cant. tales*, vol. iv. p. 254.'

terials for Geoffrey of Monmouth's history. He relates, that on Vortigern's first interview with the lady, she kneeled before him, and presenting a cup of wine, said to him, "Lord king, *wacht heil,*" or, in purer Saxon, *wæs hæl;* literally, be health, or health be to you! As the king was unacquainted with the Saxon language, he inquired the meaning of these words; and being told that they wished him health, and that he should answer them by saying *drinc heil,* he did so, and commanded Rowena to drink. Then, taking the cup from her hand, he kissed the damsel and pledged her. The historian adds, that from that time to his own the custom remained in Britain, that whoever drank to another at a feast said *wacht heil,* and he that immediately after received the cup answered *drinc heil.*' II. 206, 207.

Beſides the illuſtrations of Shakſpeare, which conſtitute about two thirds of the work before us, Mr Douce has favoured his readers with four ſeparate eſſays, one upon the *Anachronisms* of Shakſpeare; another on the *Fools* and *Clowns* of the antient drama; a third on the *Gesta Romanorum;* and the laſt on the *Morris-dancers.*

The firſt does not pretend to originality, and is amuſing and ſatisfactory. In ſpeaking, however, of the negligence of national coſtume which exiſted on our ſtage even after the days of Garrick, Mr Douce has fallen into the common error of attributing to Mr Kemble the reformation of this folly. The fact is, that a great part of this reformation was effected by Macklin, long before Mr Kemble flouriſhed: it was Macklin, in particular, who firſt dreſſed the tragedy of Macbeth in the Scotiſh coſtume; and even Mr Kemble himſelf has played Hamlet in a coat and waiſtcoat.

Not the leaſt intereſting part of the volumes before us, is the 'Diſſertation on the Clowns and Fools.' 'It originated,' ſays the author, 'from the opinion of a late eminent critic and antiquary (Mr Ritſon), that the ſubject was deſerving of particular conſideration.' Between the clowns and the fools of our old dramas Mr Douce makes the wideſt diſtinction, branching each out into the following varieties. 'I. The general domeſtic *fool;* who was, 1. A mere natural, or idiot; 2. Silly by nature, yet cunning and ſarcaſtical; 3. Artificial;—all occaſional ſervants. II. The *clown,* who was, 1. A mere country booby; 2. A witty ruſtic; 3. Any ſervant of a ſhrewd and witty diſpoſition, and who, like a ſimilar character in our modern plays, was made to treat his maſter with great familiarity in order to produce ſtage effect.' Mr Douce has enumerated ſeven other ſpecies of this very various animal; but the above are all that are to be found in Shakſpeare's menagerie. Their dreſſes are then deſcribed and illuſtrated with much reſearch, and afford a valuable *Magasin des Modes* for our theatrical wardrobes. Speaking of the prevailing colour

colour of yellow in the fool's dress, Mr Douce observes, that 'a manuscript note in the time of the Commonwealth, states yellow to have been the fool's colour.' If we are not very much mistaken, it is proverbially so called to this day.

The next branch of Mr Douce's work is a very elaborate dissertation on the monkish collection of Latin tales, called the *Gesta Romanorum*, to which Shakspeare's Merchant of Venice is so largely indebted, and from which Chaucer, Boccacio, and a long list of minor novelists, have so liberally copied. This work has always been considered of the greatest importance in the history of fiction. It has engaged the pens of Dr Farmer and Mr Tyrwhitt; and from Mr Warton it had before the honour of a separate dissertation. Mr Douce, however, seems now to have collected all the learning on the subject; and the result of his labours is the discovery of *two* works, under the title of *Gesta Romanorum*; the first, the original production of Bercheur, which is that treated of by Mr Warton, and 'of which,' according to Mr Douce, 'no MS. has been yet described;' and the second, an imitation of the first by an Englishman, of which there exist several MSS. in different English cathedrals and private collections, but of which there never was a complete copy printed. Mr Douce's reasons for thinking that there are two different works called *Gesta Romanorum*, are, the great variations that exist between the printed copies of what he calls 'the original *Gesta*,' and the MS. ones of what he terms 'the English *Gesta*;' the latter possessing no less than forty stories out of one hundred and two that are not in the former; that no MS. of the English *Gesta* exists in any of the Continental libraries; and that it contains English verses, English proper names, and English idioms. The additional stories of this *Gesta* are then analyzed by Mr Douce, in the same manner as Mr Warton has analyzed the stories of the original *Gesta*; and the dissertation is completed by accounts of the printed copies of one *Gesta*, of the MSS. of the other, and of the translations of both.

Mr Douce's last dissertation is on the antient English Morris-Dance,—an amusement of which he has described the origin, progress and disuse, with his usual learning and minuteness. The principal novelty he has brought forward, in elucidation of this once popular amusement, is 'a copy from an exceedingly scarce engraving on copper, by Israel Von Mecheln or Meckenen, so named from the place of his nativity, a German village on the confines of Flanders.'—'The design,' Mr Douce adds, 'seems to have been intended as a pattern for goldsmiths' work, probably for a cup or tankard. The artist, in a fancy representation

of foliage, has introduced several figures belonging to a Flemish May-game morris, consisting of the lady of the May, the fool, the piper, two morris-dancers with bells and streamers, and four other dancing characters, for which appropriate names will not easily be found. The similitude between some of the figures in this print, and others in Mr Tollett's window, is very striking, and shows that the period of execution, as to both, was nearly the same.' II. 446-7.

Mr Douce then proceeds to describe and illustrate all the *dramatis personæ* of these facetious performances,—Robin Hood, Little John, Friar Tuck, Maid Marian, the Piper, the Hobby-horse, the Dragon, and the Morris-Dancers. Almost the whole of this merry group has vanished long ago. Dancers indeed are mentioned by Mr Ritson as existing in 1782 in Norfolk and Lancashire; and 'a very few years since,' adds Mr Douce, 'a company of this kind was seen at Usk in Monmouthshire, which was attended by a boy-Maid-Marian, a hobby-horse, and a fool.' The writer of this article recollects to have seen a Morris-dance at Brighton as lately as the year 1789; and he is informed that morris-dancers and their fool are yet annually seen in Gloucestershire about Whitsuntide. It may be added, in illustration of this momentous subject, that at Norwich, the figure of a large dragon, designated Snap, is still preserved in the town-hall; whence he annually issues to join the Mayor's procession on the guild-day.

There are undoubtedly many little items of information in these volumes; but they have in general no pretension to the title of Illustrations of Shakspeare, nor any right to the popularity which such a title may procure for them. With reference to Shakspeare, they are an overwhelming and confounding mass of heavy, trifling, and bewildering interpretation; and, considered as detailed notices of antient books, manners and language, no arrangement could be more preposterous than that of the acts and scenes of Shakspeare's plays. Upon the whole, we remain confirmed in our opinion that the commentators are 'a feeble folk;' and that they have no business to make their houses in the rocks which support the everlasting monument of Shakspeare.

ART.

ART. XIII. *Propositions for amending the Constitution of the United States of America, submitted by Mr Hillhouse to the Senate of the United States, on the 12th Day of April* 1808, *with his explanatory Remarks.* 12mo. pp. 60. Washington and New York, 1808.

THIS is one of the works which marks, in a striking manner, the difference between a new and an established government. Mr Hillhouse, a sober-minded and experienced senator, representing the most sagacious and least revolutionary state in the Union (Connecticut), comes forward with a series of propositions for new-modelling the general government, and changing the functions both of the executive, and of the higher branch of the legislature; and those propositions are deliberately canvassed, and ordered to be printed, by authority of the Senate, for the general information of the country. Such discussions would be regarded on this side of the Atlantic as the immediate precursors of a radical revolution; while, in America, they are universally considered, not only as perfectly innocent, but as laudable and salutary. The contemplation of these things may teach us some lessons; and at a time when the foreign relations of these rising communities excite so general an interest in Europe, we think it our duty to lay before our readers whatever may tend to throw light on their internal condition. With this view, we shall present them with a slight analysis of the little pamphlet before us, premising a short account of the constitution which it is intended to reform.

At the close of that unfortunate contest, which terminated in the independence of the British colonies, the first object that engaged the attention of the citizens of the newly created empire, was the government they were in future to live under. The body, under whose auspices the war had been conducted, was nothing more than an assembly denominated the Congress, composed of delegates from the several states, who, without pretending to any authority over the individual citizens, or even over the states in their collective capacity, issued *recommendations* to the different legislatures, which, being the suggestions of wisdom and patriotism, and given at a period of alarm and danger, were in most instances implicitly obeyed. The functions of this government, however, naturally ceased with the conjuncture which gave it birth. On the return of peace, its recommendations were disregarded; and it was soon discovered, that if the union of the states was to be preserved, a more efficacious government was indispensably necessary.

In the organization of the *state governments*, no great difficulty was experienced. Under the old *regime*, the greater part of the colonies had been governed by a House of Assembly chosen by the people, together with a Governor and Council appointed by the King. The only alteration, therefore, that was required by the revolution, was to transfer to the people that portion of authority which had hitherto been exercised by the Sovereign. In addition to the House of Assembly which they had always chosen, they elected, in most of the states, a council, under the name of a Senate, and an executive, denominated the Governor; and with these alterations the state governments resumed their functions.

The establishment of a national government, however, was obviously a much more arduous undertaking. Their separation from the mother country having deprived the States of the common prop on which they had hitherto rested, they were naturally led to lean towards each other; but not having, as in the case of the state governments, any model to direct them, it became a matter of much uncertainty how the connexion of the states was in future to be maintained. The state governments were buildings already erected, which, in consequence of the revolution, merely changed their inhabitants; but the fabric of the national government was to be built from the foundation, on a plan which was yet to be devised and considered. Some common government seemed necessary to the welfare of the Union; but how this government was to be constructed,—how far its powers were to encroach on the separate sovereignty of the states, and to what objects these powers were to be directed,—were all matters of very nice and difficult arrangement. The opinions of the citizens of the United States, on this momentous subject, were as various as might be expected from the variety of interests, of prejudices and passions, which must necessarily exist in such a community. Some called in question even the necessity of union; others, admitting the necessity of a common government, maintained that this government ought to be purely federal, and in no respect national; that is to say, that its ordinances should be binding only on the state legislatures, and not on the citizens individually considered. A third party asserted the expediency of a government exercising authority over the whole mass of the population. With respect to the nature and constitution of the organs, by which the powers of the general government were to be discharged, the difference of sentiment was equally great. In order to reconcile their discordant opinions, and obtain some form of government, without which it was apparent that the United States, as a nation, could no longer exist, a convention was held at Philadelphia

ladelphia in the year 1787, composed of the most illustrious citizens of the Union, and dignified with the presence of Washington and Franklin. After having deliberated for several months, this august assembly at length produced the Constitution which was soon afterwards adopted; and under which the United States have, for twenty years, been advancing to power and opulence, with a rapidity unexampled in history.

The best account of this constitution, is to be found in a publication called the *Federalist*, written principally by the late General Hamilton;—a work little known in Europe, but which exhibits an extent and precision of information, a profundity of research, and an acuteness of understanding, which would have done honour to the most illustrious statesmen of antient or modern times.

The defects which, on a view of this constitution, immediately strike us as inherent in its composition,—are weakness and instability. It has the appearance indeed, rather of an experiment in politics, than of a steady permanent government; and in this view, as we gather from the speech made by Franklin, previous to giving his vote for its adoption, it was regarded by the most distinguished members of the convention, with which it originated. We have particular access indeed to know, that General Hamilton, who assisted in its formation, and who was regarded as the most enlightened man in the country, was used to express his conviction, that it had not within it the means of self-preservation. Its framers themselves, therefore, were far from maintaining its excellence. Like Solon of old, they offered it to their countrymen only as the best which their peculiar circumstances would admit of.

The establishment of a more stable government was rendered peculiarly difficult, by the immense rapidity with which the United States were advancing. A country in which every thing is varying and increasing, cannot well have a permanent government. The insular situation of Great Britain, seems to be a principal cause of the peculiar steadiness of the government under which we live. The bounds of our country are defined by nature; the population, though increasing, advances so slowly, as to produce no sensible impression on the machine of government; and, when it arrives at a certain pitch, is relieved by emigration, by war, and the other evils incident to an old country. The territory of the United States, when compared with that of the most conspicuous nations of Europe, deserves almost the epithet of boundless. At the time when the constitution was framed, this immense region contained only between three and four millions of souls. Its constitution, therefore, was adapted

adapted to a thin and scattered population; but it could not escape the penetration of its founders, that a government, which was suitable to the weakness of infancy, might be very ill adapted to the vigour of manhood.

Besides the smallness of the population in proportion to the extent of the territory, there were other circumstances in the situation of the United States which naturally suggested the idea of a republican, and even a democratical government. The population of the United States was of a peculiar description. Every man, possessing a certain share of property, had an interest in the general welfare. The agricultural interest greatly predominated. The greater part of the inhabitants of the United States cultivated their own farms, and were distinguished by those habits of industry, morality, and intellectual acuteness, which are the natural result of that situation. There was no *mob*, in short,—no dissolute and servile populace in the country. When a considerable number of this class exists in any community, it may be pronounced unfit for a republican government. It must not at the same time be overlooked, that the distance of America from Europe, and the absence of any formidable enemy on the frontier, favoured the introduction of a republican government. Had any formidable neighbour rendered it necessary for the United States to maintain a considerable standing army, or to engage in frequent hostilities, we may pronounce, with certainty, that their present form of government could not have subsisted. The slender tie which holds them together would burst at once in the tumult of war. But, placed at a distance from the great theatre of contention and bloodshed,—devoting themselves to the arts of peace, and studiously avoiding all occasions of hostility, they have hitherto prospered under a republican government; while the violent political contentions incident to such a constitution have supplied, in some measure, that agitation which in Europe is excited by war, and without which it seems impossible for any collection of men to maintain their vigour and activity.

In governments, as in every human institution, there is always found a mixture of good and evil. The most despotic have their benefits,—the most free their disadvantages. The great recommendation of a republican government, as applied to the United States, is, that it affords full scope to the growing energies of the nation, imposing on them no greater burdens or restrictions than are essential to their complete development. But this advantage is purchased at the expense of an evil, which must exist in a greater or less degree in every free government, and has already risen to a most disagreeable, and even alarming height in the United States. The evil we allude to is—party spirit,

rit. It being essential to a republican government, that the supreme rulers of the country should derive their power immediately from the people, and be chosen by them, these elections are naturally productive of very violent contests and furious animosities among the friends of the different candidates. It must always be kept in mind, that, in the United States, not only the legislative assemblies, but the Chief Magistrate, is chosen by a general election, held every four years throughout the Union. Such an election, in almost any country of Europe, would be the signal for civil war; and although no such effect has hitherto resulted from it in America, because the country is thinly peopled,—because there is no standing army,—and because the office of Chief Magistrate is, comparatively speaking, of trifling importance; yet, in proportion as the country advances, these circumstances must be changed; and the United States will then be exposed to that multiplicity of evils which the periodical election of a chief ruler in an extensive country is calculated to produce. Already, according to Mr Hillhouse, these evils are serious and alarming.

'Of the impropriety,' he asks, 'and impolicy of the present mode of electing a President, can there be stronger proof,—can there be more convincing evidence, than is now exhibiting in the United States? In whatever direction we turn our eyes, we behold the people arranging themselves under the banners of different candidates, for the purpose of commencing the electioneering campaign for the next President and Vice-President. All the passions and feelings of the human heart are brought into the most active operation. The *electioneering* spirit finds its way to every *fireside*,—pervades our domestic circles, and threatens to destroy the enjoyment of social harmony. The seeds of *discord* will be sown in families, among friends, and throughout the whole community. In saying this, I do not mean any thing to the disadvantage of either of the candidates. They may have no agency in the business. They may be the involuntary objects of such competition, without the power of directing or controuling the storm. The fault is in the mode of election,—in setting *the people* to choose *a King*. In fact, a popular election, and the exercise of such powers and prerogatives as are by the constitution vested in the President, are incompatible. The evil is increasing, and will increase, until it shall terminate in civil war and despotism. The people, suffering under the scourge of party-feuds and factions, and finding no refuge under the state, any more than in the general government, from party persecution and oppression, may become impatient, and submit to the first *tyrant* who can protect them against the *thousand tyrants*.'

To suggest a remedy for this great and growing evil, is the leading object of the Propositions before us.

'It can be remedied,' Mr Hillhouse observes, 'only in two ways;

ways: Either the office of President must be stripped of its high prerogatives and powers, or some other mode of appointing a President must be devised than that of popular election.'

He is of opinion that both of these means ought to be employed. He proposes to reduce the President's terms of service from four years to one,—to reduce his salary from 25,000 to 15,000 dollars per annum,—to transfer from him to the legislature the power of appointing to and removing from office; and, as to the mode of appointing the chief magistrate, he intends that he shall be annually chosen *by lot* from a certain number of the Senate. Mr Hillhouse intends likewise, that the House of Representatives, instead of serving, as at present, for two years, shall henceforth serve only for one; and that the term of service of the Senate shall also be reduced from six to three years.

If this mode of appointing a President shall be adopted, Mr Hillhouse flatters himself that the following advantages will result from it.

'1st, It will make the Senate more respectable.

'2d, It is prompt and certain.

'3d, It will avoid the evils of a disputed election, which is now unprovided for in the constitution.

'4th, It will exclude intrigue and cabal.

'5th, It gives talents and modest merit an equal chance.

'6th, It is economical.

'7th, It gives to the people a President of the United States, and not the chief of a party.

'8th, It removes temptation to use power, otherwise than for the *public good.*

'9th, It will annihilate a *general* party pervading the whole United States.

'10th, It will remove a direct, powerful, and dangerous influence of the general government on the individual states.

'11th, It will prevent the influence of a presidential election on our *domestic concerns* and *foreign relations.*

'12th, And it will secure the United States against the usurpation of power, and every attempt, through fear, interest, or corruption, to sacrifice their interest, honour, or independence; for one year is too short a time in which to contrive and execute any extensive and dangerous plan of unprincipled ambition; and the same person cannot be President during two successive years.'

Mr Hillhouse therefore expects, that when amended in the manner proposed by him, the United States would enjoy the respective advantages of elective and hereditary governments, combining the freedom of the one with the tranquillity of the other. We should now consider how far his expectations are likely to be fulfilled.

The

The amendment regarding the President, consists, as we have already stated, of two parts, namely, making the office itself less the object of ambition, and appointing to it *by lot*, instead of election. By the latter arrangement, there can be no doubt that the Senate would be made more respectable; because each state, in electing its quota of Senators, two in number, would consider itself as nominating, at the same time, two candidates for the Presidency. It would likewise avoid the evils of a disputed presidential election. But is it not obvious that it would add nearly as much turbulence to the senatorial, as it took from the presidential elections? That quantity of popular agitation, corruption, and intrigue, which used to be called forth at every election of a President, would not by this means be annihilated. It would be merely transferred to the election of senators; with this difference, that, under the present system, it occurs only once in four years, and, according to Mr Hillhouse's scheme, the nation would be disturbed with it every three years. As to the fourth advantage, the destruction of cabal and intrigue,—it is by no means certain that fraud and collusion would not be employed even at the drawing of the great lottery. Neither would it give to the people a President of the United States, instead of the chief of a party. Every nation, which in any considerable degree governs itself, must be divided into parties; every assembly, chosen by such a nation, must be divided into corresponding parties; every senator, therefore, must belong to one party or another; and, whether chosen by lot or by election, the President of the United States would infallibly be the leader of the party with which he had previously been accustomed to act.

But, supposing that all the advantages enumerated by Mr Hillhouse did result from the appointment of the President by lot; it appears to us, that there would necessarily arise, from the privation of the powers and prerogatives he at present exercises, evils more than sufficient to counterbalance all the benefits that would attend them. The most fatal consequences are to be apprehended from breaking down the barriers at present interposed between the *executive* and the *legislature* of the United States. It is among the most certain maxims of political philosophy, that the independence of the executive is no less essential to freedom than that of the legislature itself. Any scheme, therefore, which would at once invest the legislature with executive authority, may well be regarded with suspicion. It is as dangerous to permit a body of men to execute laws, as to allow a single man to enact them. The power of appointing to, and removing from office, is unquestionably an appendage of the executive government; and cannot be taken from the President of the United States, without depriving

priving him of the weight and dignity which are indispensable to the vigorous and effectual discharge of his important office. It is certain, too, that, if no fit depositary of this executive power is provided by the constitution, some one will establish itself in spite of the constitution; and this will be the turbulent leader of a legislative body, who, under pretence of promoting the interests of his fellow citizens, will contrive to become their master. By electing the President out of the Senate, especially if, as Mr Hillhouse imagines, this body, in consequence of serving for a shorter time, would consist, in general, of the same members, his constitutional independence would be still further impaired, and his interests identified with those of the Senate. In a word, it seems evident, that if the people of the United States were desirous of making such alterations on their constitution, as should be likely to convert it into an oligarchy, and at no distant period into a despotism, they could not adopt a better plan than that proposed by Mr Hillhouse.

For our own part we will confess, that, in speculating on the future fortunes of the American republic, it is not to the dissensions excited by the election of the President, but to the disproportionate strength and efficacy of its separate state governments, that we should be disposed to look with the greatest apprehension. The constitution of America is a sort of compromise between a confederation of independent nations, and a simple republican government; and, like all other compromises, involves both absurdities and inconveniences. It was merely the accidental circumstance of having been formerly governed as separate colonies, that suggested to this people the idea of a federal union; for nothing surely could be more preposterous, than for three millions of men to divide themselves into thirteen nations. When we speak of America, therefore, as one country, and reason about its greatness or stability, we think only of its general government, and drop all consideration of its separate state legislatures. Now, the greatest hazard by far to which this national government—and with it the national greatness and prosperity—is exposed, arises, in our apprehension, from the existence and the powers of those subordinate constitutions. They not only exhibit the old absurdity of a wheel within a wheel; but evidently hold out facilities to the dismemberment and dissolution of the general government. When a measure, indispensable to the *general* welfare, happens to be disadvantageous to the inhabitants of a particular district, they will be discontented and querulous, in all cases, we may depend on it, in spite of patriotism and public spirit. But if they are merely individual citizens of one great community, their discontent will not go beyond murmurs and clamours,

mours, and will not affect the ſtability of the government. When every diſtrict, however, is organized like a ſeparate nation, and exerciſes legiſlative and ſovereign authority over its own population, it is eaſy to ſee how formidable its local diſcontents may become, and how readily a partial intereſt may lead it to throw off its allegiance to the general government. They are each ready to ſet up for themſelves; and they know very well, that the general government has no power to compel them to adhere to it longer than they conceive it to be for their advantage. Inſtead of making new regulations as to the office and election of the Preſident, therefore, we do think it would be better worth while for the American reformers to think of gradually diſſolving their ſtate governments, and really incorporating themſelves into one people and one name. Inſtead of electing ſo many members to Congreſs for each ſtate, let them elect ſo many for every hundred thouſand male adults; and, inſtead of having half their laws made in one place, and half in another, let them truſt the whole manufacture to the maſter-workmen of the country.

While they remain at peace, however, and continue to proſper, their preſent government will anſwer well enough. The truth is, that in ſuch a ſituation, they ſcarcely require any government at all; and their political arrangements are rather matters of ſpeculation to the ambitious, than the concernment of the truly patriotic. But war would give a tremendous ſhock to all theſe arrangements; nor do we ſee indeed how they could maintain any conſiderable army without the adoption of a different ſyſtem of government. The very high wages of labour would make the expenſe of their eſtabliſhment far greater than in any other country in the world; and their antipathy to all ſorts of taxes, would make it far more difficult to defray that expenſe. The government would become unpopular on occaſion of the ſlighteſt diſaſter. Party ſpirit and local intereſts would eaſily graduate into rebellion; and the whole frame of the conſtitution, it appears to us, would be in danger of falling to pieces.

With the ſpirit and intelligence, and the long habit and practice of liberty which exiſts in America, we do not exactly apprehend that they will ever fall into a ſtate of political ſervitude. But we do think, that they are ſtill deſtined to undergo ſomething of the nature of a revolution; and are very far from conſidering their preſent conſtitution as that pattern of perfection which they are ſometimes diſpoſed to repreſent it. It aroſe, like other imperfect ſyſtems of government, out of great and preſſing emergencies; and was dictated, in a great degree, by circumſtances which may be conſidered as accidental. The publication before us ſhows what opinion is entertained of it among its own ſtatesmen

men and legislators; and we are inclined to think, that those who attentively consider the subject, will be convinced that Mr Hillhouse has succeeded better in exposing the evil, than in devising the remedy; and that there are evils of a greater magnitude than those which he has specified.

ART. XIV. *The History of Greece.* By William Mitford, Esq. Vol. IV. 4to. Cadell & Davies, London. 1808.

CONSIDERED with respect, not only to the whole series of antient events which it comprises, but also to any very prominent portion of that series, Mr Mitford's history is the best that has appeared since the days of Xenophon. By calling it the best, we mean that it is the strongest in that quality, which is the cardinal virtue, or rather the four cardinal virtues in one, of historic composition,—*trustworthiness.* Such praise, it will instantly occur to the reader, is seldom bestowed where it is best due, without a credit-account of censure being opened at the same time; and, in fact, it is our purpose to conform to this general practice. The work before us, indeed, is one which will bear to be commended with discrimination; and its excellences, if faithfully displayed, may sustain such a contrast of shadow, as would perfectly extinguish the farthing brightness of those *novels founded on fact*, commonly called histories.

The volume that has just been published, continues the history of Greece, in which is included that of Sitily, to the battle of Chæronea; and might not unfairly be termed,—The Acts of Dionysius of Syracuse, and of Philip of Macedon. The originality of its contents the reader will appretiate, when he is told, that the two characters just mentioned,—proverbial as they have been in all ages, the one for atrocious oppression, the other for unprincipled ambition,—are here classed among the most exalted and unexceptionable of those whose commanding virtues have exposed them to the martyrdom of misrepresentation. The indisputable qualifications of Mr Mitford for patient, and, at the same time, bold research, entitle his representations on these subjects to be fairly examined; while the strangeness and novelty of those representations must expose them to somewhat more than suspicion, till they shall have been established by proof.

In characterizing our author's historical powers, it is quite impossible to separate that part of his work, which now first appears, from those which have so long been in possession of the public favour. All that we can attempt is, to shape our general

ral reflections on Grecian story in such a manner, as to bear on the events which accompanied the establishment of the Macedonian ascendancy over the commonwealth of the Hellenic States. The opportunity, however, of bestowing on this interesting period a full attention, must be purchased, we regret to say, by some sacrifice of that portion of Mr Mitford's volume which relates to the Sicilian empire of Dionysius. Indeed, Dionysius and Philip together, are too much for one article; and unquestionably, of the two, the actions of the former mingle themselves far less with the main current of the political and warlike annals of Greece, while, at the same time, they are, in every view, infinitely less important.

In the judgment of reason, the *matter* of a book is perhaps before its *manner;* but this judgment has been reversed by the consent of all ages,—' neither gods, nor men, nor columns,' allowing that what is not well written has any title to be well read, or indeed to be read at all. Of the history before us, no critic will deny, that its general cast bespeaks the ability of the writer; that he correctly holds the medium between the heavy philosopher and the mere gazetteer,—between looking back and going on; that his arrangement is always properly, sometimes delicately, exact; that his episodes have all the character of being appendages, and yet not excrescences—visitors, and yet not foreigners; that though always copious, he never loses himself in his own copiousness; that, in short, the impression conveyed by the narrative is a strong sense of its clearness, fulness, comprehensiveness, and variety. Yet the world is never satisfied with any gifts or endowments that are accompanied by affectation; and of this quality, Mr Mitford is charged with having two sorts. He writes in an affected style; and he is eaten up with the affectation of spelling better than any of his neighbours.

These faults, however, belong exclusively to the exterior of this work; and, with so much of solid content before us, it would be wrong to detain the reader on a mere measurement of its superficial extent, or an examination of its colour. In proceeding, before we address ourselves to grapple with any part of Mr Mitford's matter, we shall offer one word on the sort of authority to which he has resorted for it.

In this particular, we ascribe to our author uncommon merit. We do not allude merely to his management of those materials of intelligence which he has collected,—to his skill in winding out a train of events through obscurity and uncertainty,—or to his dexterity in systematizing loose hints caught from a variety of quarters. All this he has, in a considerable degree; but we

mean rather to commend the judgment which he has discovered in his steady pursuit, and, on all occasions, resolute preference, of contemporary authorities. This is one great distinction between this author and most of his predecessors; and it is one on which he is justly entitled to value himself.

There is this general distinction between contemporary history and all other history,—that the former is a witness, the latter a judge. The *opinions* of a contemporary author on the events which he records, are only then authority, when the impression made on a bystander happens to be a material part of the case; nor is this any exception to the maxim, that his business is to testify, not to lecture. On *facts*, however, he is paramount evidence; and that, not only in the age immediately succeeding him, but also, which is generally forgotten, to the latest times. The modern historian, who consults original authorities through the medium of some later predecessor, descends from the character of a judge to that of a faithful reporter of decisions.

Yet it must be owned, that the distinction which has been mentioned between the writers of past, and those of contemporary history, is not always perfect. No man sees all that is done, or hears all that is said, even during his own life. Time, the philosophers have found, resembles space; and, certainly, a story is often as much injured by a voyage out of one hemisphere into another, as it would have been in journeying through the whole wilderness of the middle ages. In many cases, therefore, our witness is compelled to act the part of a judge. There are others, in which the judge must become a witness. The earlier annalist, for example, remains as the only voucher to a modern historian of events from which he was himself divided by centuries. The old authorities are extinct, or so greatly impaired by time, as to be no longer responsible.

Still, perhaps, the happiest fault with which a historian can be reproached, is that of a blind attachment to original documents. We may rely upon it, that a story can hardly ever suffer so much from any defect in the original teller, as it must suffer from running the gauntlet of successive transmissions. The light of history is like other light; it dissipates far faster than in proportion to its distance from the point of radiation; and a less portion near the centre, is better than more afterwards.

These considerations are evidently much strengthened, in the event of three contingencies; first, that we have an abundance of original information; next, that our secondary authorities were, in time or place, far removed from the scene of action; and thirdly, that they laboured under some incapacitating prejudice.

judice. The intelligence derived from secondary sources, under such circumstances, may well be spared, and must always be more than suspicious.

These observations, however, apply directly to Grecian history, and especially to that portion of Grecian history which occupies the greater part of the volume before us. Of the state of Grecian politics, in the time of Philip of Macedon, we know, or may know much, from the writings of contemporary authors. The writers, on the other hand, who, towards the decline of the Roman power, compiled histories of Greece, were not only far separated from the period in question, but were also deeply tinged with that sophistical spirit,—that mania of sacrificing accuracy to hypothesis, which was the pest of the later literature of antiquity. Yet, modern authors have implicitly trusted these guides. So far from recollecting that just division of employment which assigns the province of testimony to the contemporary historian, and that of judgment to those who come after, they have most preposterously inverted this order. They have borrowed their text from Justin; their commentary from Demosthenes; and have justified the prejudiced declamation of the demagogue, by an appeal to the libellous anecdotes of the fabulist. On this last subject, the readers of Mr Mitford will find a clear, and, on the whole, we think, an unexceptionable essay, in his introductory chapter.

Were we called to name the circumstance which, of all others, distinguishes Mr Mitford's history, we should mention the light which it throws on the state of parties in Greece.

Every Grecian city, whether in the mother-country or in the colonies, was divided into two parties,—the aristocratic and the democratic. This was, of course, the case also with Athens and Lacedæmon. In the latter, however, the aristocratic party was generally preponderant, and the democratic in the former. The same division is observable in Greece, considered as a large community. The respective parties in each town, besides acting separately, naturally made a common cause. The Athenians and Lacedæmonians, from the prevailing difference in their politics, took opposite sides; and were, of course, at the head, the Lacedæmonians of the aristocratic, and the Athenians of the democratic factions. This was the general rule. There were, indeed, occasions in which it was reversed; but these were only under very peculiar circumstances.

The Peloponnesian war is properly termed by Mr Mitford a civil war. It was the decisive struggle between the two interests. It is curious to remark, how the changes of fortune that befell

the principals in this struggle, ran along the whole line of their subordinate adherents. Any considerable success, on either side, tended to produce a defection of the allies of the opposite party. When the Lacedæmonians were victorious, the allies of Athens revolted; that is, the aristocratic party among the allies gained the ascendancy; and, in the same manner, the success of the Athenians gave power to the democratic factions in all the cities of Greece.

Thus, there was a close union between the respective parties in the different States. The circumstances of Greece naturally led to this posture of affairs, to which the history of Italy, prior to the sixteenth century, presents something analogous, if not exactly parallel. The nearness of the cities to each other facilitated a constant and secret communication. The language in general use was the same. The antipathies and affections, being crowded into a narrow theatre, became personal and even hereditary. These were some of the causes which led to this peculiarity; and, of these, the first was probably the most effectual.

Few tasks would be more inviting, than that of watching the successive steps of these parties through the whole course of Grecian history. That task, however, would require a detail too minute for the present occasion. It is enough to have pointed out the clue to a just knowledge of their internal politics. It is rather incumbent upon us to turn our attention to that state which, for a longer period than any of its rivals, possessed the sovereignty over the rest of Greece,—which is itself most interesting to the general reader,—of which we know most;—which has been the most celebrated for refinement in arts, and for liberal politics, and which, at the period under review, filled alone, in point of influence and consideration, the space which had before been divided between several considerable nations. In the time of Philip of Macedon, Athens was Greece.

The government of Athens, as it stood originally, it is unnecessary to describe. A very satisfactory representation of it may be seen in a former part of the history before us. It is well known that Solon, desirous to repress the disorders of the democracy which he found in his country, interposed several checks,—and especially the areopagus and the senate of five hundred; but that, in spite of these checks, so much weight was left on the popular side, as to defeat his purpose, and to insure the ultimate ascendancy of the democratic party. The stages by which the Athenian constitution descended from its first greatness, and again rose to a 'bad eminence,' are traced by Mr Mitford with great accuracy and success. We shall make no apology for offering to

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our readers a pretty copious extract from this most interesting part of his labours.

After stating, that in consequence of the blow given to the Lacedæmonian power by Epaminondas, and of the decline of the Thebans on the death of that general, 'Athens remained, by her power and by the reputation of her most eminent citizens, the most respected of the republics,' the historian proceeds,

'Unfortunately Athens had not a government capable of maintaining a conduct, that could either hold or deserve the respect which a large part of Greece was ready to pay. When, after overthrowing the tyrannical government of the thirty, and of their successors the ten, Thrasybulus refused to meet any proposal for checking, in the restored democracy, the wildness of popular authority, it seems to have been because he saw no sufficient disposition to moderation among those who put forward such proposals. The faults of both parties had produced violence in both. The profligate tyranny of the former democracy had been such (Isocrates ventured, in a chosen opportunity, to aver the bold truth to the people in their restored sovereinty), that a majority, even of the lower ranks, had voted for the oligarchy of the four hundred. But the tyranny of the thirty afterward so exceeded all former experience, that, in natural course, the popular jealousy, on the restoration of popular power, would become, in the highest degree, suspicious and irritable. In this state of things it was a sense of public weakness, while the power of Lacedæmon or Thebes threatened, that inforced respect for the counsels of such men as Conon, Thrasybulus, Iphicrates, Timotheus, Chabrias, and Niceratus. Nevertheless, even under these circumstances, sycophancy again reared its baleful head. Wise men accommodated themselves, as they could, to the temper of the times, endevoring so to bend before popular tyranny as not to sink under it. But Thrasybulus himself, as we have formerly seen, tho honored as the second founder of the republic, did not escape a capital prosecution. The great men who followed him, began, like the Lacedæmonian kings, to prefer military command abroad to residence in the city. Giving their advice in the general assembly only when pressure of circumstances required, they avoided that general direction of the republic's affairs, that situation of prime minister, which Themistocles, Cimon, Pericles, and Thrasybulus himself had held. It has been remarked that Conon chose to pass his leisure in Cyprus, Iphicrates in Thrace, Timotheus in Lesbos, Chares in Sigeium, and Chabrias in Egypt, or anywhere rather than in Athens.

'This dereliction of civil situation by the great political and military characters of the republic, incouraged the evil which produced it. The field was left open for adventurers, without other recommendation than readiness and boldness of speech, to take the lead in public affairs; and oratory became a trade, independent of all other vocations.' IV. 230, 231.

'When the fear of Lacedæmon or Thebes, long the salutary check upon this vicious government, was removed by the event of the battle of Mantineia, its extravagances soon grew extreme. The people in general assembly being soverein, with power less liable to question than that of a Turkish sultan, who dares not deny his veneration for Mahomet's law, or his respect for those appointed to high situations under it, any adventurer in politics, who had ready elocution, could interfere in every department of government. Ratification by the people was required for every measure of administration. The most delicate forein interests were discussed before the people at large, and the contending orators abused forein powers and one another with equal grossness. Unsteddiness then became a characteristic of the Athenian government. Propositions rejected in the morning, says Isocrates, are often ratified before night, and condemned again at the next meeting of the assembly; and we find even Demosthenes, the popular favorite of his day, complaining, that a measure decreed was as uncertain of execution as if it had never been taken into consideration. Assurance therefore for forein states, of any maintenance of public faith, was impossible. As soon as a treaty was concluded, it was the business of the opposing orators to persuade the people that they had been deceived and misled. If the attempt succeeded, the consistency of government and the faith of the republic were equally disregarded: the treaty was declared null, and those who had persuaded to it, rarely escaping capital prosecution, were fortunate if they could escape capital punishment. Seldom, therefore, tho everything must be discussed, could there be any free discussion. In the soverein assembly of Athens, as in democratical assemblies in England, a common hall of the city of London, or a county meeting for political purposes, freedom of speech often was denied; the people would hear the orators only on one side. Flattery to the tyrant, as we have seen the people in democracy often called among the Greeks, was always necessary. But honest and plain admonition, tending to allay popular passion, to obviate mischievous prejudice, or even to correct popular misinformation, could rarely obtain attention, unless in times of pressing public danger, and alarm among all parties.

'It seems to have been a liberal spirit that, on the restoration of the democracy by Thrasybulus, gave the freedom of the city to all who had borne arms in the contest for it. Nevertheless the precedent was dangerous for a state where despotic power, the legislative, the executive, and the judicial authority, was constitutionally vested in the whole people. Formerly, tho the large patriotism, which should have embraced the whole Greek nation, was rarely found among the republics, yet that narrower political virtue, the love of the city, was often seen warm. But as, through the successive alterations of the constitutions of Theseus and Solon, security for property, and especially for landed property, was weakened, and at length almost

most destroyed, attachment to the Attic soil would proportionally fail. So many strangers to Attic blood then, admitted among the citizens, would of course be desirous that the purity of Attic blood should no longer be the honorable distinction, and would be ready to vote, on all occasions, for the admission of others, who possessed it no more than themselves. Accordingly the freedom of the city became an ordinary favor, profusely conferred. Perhaps we should ascribe somewhat to joke in the story of the two youths, raised to the once envied dignity of Athenian citizens, for the merit of their father, an ingenious cook, in the invention of some approved new sauces.' IV. 232—234.

To these symptoms succeeded unbounded luxury among the multitude. The citizens, declining military service, resorted to the aid of mercenaries, and engaged in hostilities for the avowed purpose of plunder.

'After the battle of Mantineia, when the decay of Theban influence over the confederacy, whose councils Epameinondas had been able to guide, became manifest, an altered disposition toward the subject states appeared. Interested adventurers in politics quickly saw the opportunity, and hastened in contention to profit from it. The former empire of Athens, and the advantages which the body of the people derived from it, became the favorite topics of declamation in the general assembly. The people heard with eager attention, when it was asked, "Whence was the want of energy, that the fleets brought no treasures home? Why was free navigation allowed? The Athenian navy commanded the seas. Why then was any republic permitted to have ships, and maritime commerce, that would not pay tribute as formerly?" Thus wrought into fermentation, the public mind, with a favorite object in view, would no longer bear contradiction. To urge the injustice of arbitrary exaction would have been dangerous for the most popular orator. Even for showing the impolicy, without venturing to name the iniquity of such measures, none could obtain a hearing. Fleets therefore were sent out, under the imperial mandate of the people, with general instructions to bring home tribute. For command in such interprize, military ability and experience were little requisite; and, as the cautious Isocrates did not scruple publicly to aver, men of such mean estimation, that, for managing any private concern, none would trust them, were commissioned, with dictatorial powers, to conduct the affairs of the republic with the Greek nation. A soverein multitude, and the orators who, by flattery, ruled the soverein multitude, would be likely to allow great indulgence to those ordered, without limitation by any precise instructions, to extend empire and bring home money. Complaints insuing, endless, from the injured allies, were generally disregarded. Money, judiciously distributed among the officers of the courts which ought to take connisance of such complaints, was generally necessary even to bring the matter to a hearing; and then any justice in decision was very uncertain. Fraud,

rapine, all sorts of iniquity and violence, not only went unpunished, but the people often showed themselves even amused with the attested reports of enormities, committed by their tribute-gathering armaments.' IV. 240, 241.

To these interesting sketches we know not that we could wish for any addition, excepting perhaps on two subjects; which would justify, as we think, a more copious discussion than they have received from Mr Mitford.

The first of these relates to the pecuniary irregularities prevalent among the official men in Athens. The extracts already made, show with how little scruple the generals of the republic laid waste the territories of her allies. We need hardly say, that the orators are not supposed to have been nicer at home, than the soldiers abroad. Every classical reader knows, that nothing is more common, in the orations preserved to us, than reciprocal imputations of bribery.

The readiness of the orators mutually to prefer this charge, and, comparatively with the sensitiveness of modern feeling under similar crimination, the composure with which it is met, convince us of three things: first, that it meant little or nothing; secondly, that it was true; thirdly, that it might have been retorted with equal truth. In every deliberative assembly, all the *common places* of attack stand on some solid foundation. That, in specific instances, they are used at random, only proves that they are used with very good reason on the whole. If the weapon inflicted an uncommon or an impoisoned wound, it would not make a part of the ordinary armoury of the combatants. To draw the rule still finer, it may be observed, that the general disposition to *retort*, rather than to *resist*, any particular imputation, is in exact proportion to the general prevalence of the offence imputed. The cry of misrepresentation is the grand football of the British Houses of Parliament. The cry is heard, and it is flung back,—the audience very little caring which of the parties deserves the hardest blows. But no member of those august assemblies, if seriously accused of having sold his vote to a foreign power, would content himself with exhorting the accuser to look at home; or would repel a solemn charge of perjury with exclaiming, *Quis tulerit Gracchos*, &c.

If the reader be dissatisfied with a proof resting on such broad grounds, he may be suited with one more direct. Let him consult the speeches of Æschines and Demosthenes; and he will find, that those eminent men, in one or two instances, respectively attributed to each other specific offences, bordering, to say the least, on corruption; which charges are respectively passed over, in profound silence, by the party accused. Silence, under

der such formal and particular imputation, amounts to violent presumption of delinquency.

In the constitution of the Athenian republic, there was nothing to prevent the existence of a dicephalous monster, combining in itself the venal orator and the plundering general. The thief on shore might become a robber on the high seas. In the later periods, however, of the republic, the union of the civil and military character hardly ever occurred, excepting perhaps in the person of Phocion, whose inexorable integrity placed him beyond the reach of every dishonourable imputation. Usually, therefore, there was a league between the lion and the jackall. The demagogue was to find service for the commander, and the commander was to find fees for the demagogue. Measures, concerted by both, were to be executed by the one, and to be defended by the other. In this connexion, it is material to observe, that the orator by no means bore that representative character which is attached to the office of an advocate; but was considered as pledging to his colleague his name and his opinions, as well as his professional talents. Before the assembled people, he appeared, not as a pleader in a court of justice, but as a conspicuous leader of the councils of his country.

From a dread of prolixity, we avoid entering on the proof of what it would require little labour to prove,—that persons of less consideration in the government than those on whose proceedings we have descanted, seem in no respect to have surpassed their superiors in the rigidness of their public principles.

Were we required to discover, among the political regulations or circumstances of the Athenians, any single cause for the shameful practices we have specified, we should point to a capital defect in the very constitution of their government. In that democracy, and, it should seem, in all the Grecian democracies, official situations were miserably underpaid. It was the lamentable scantiness of regular emolument, that drove men of high station to the base and dangerous alternative of irregular gains. The wretchedness of the allowance of a general officer, under the Grecian system, may sufficiently appear from this single fact, that when Thimbron, the Lacedæmonian, engaged in his service the soldiers who were returning with Xenophon from the celebrated expedition under Cyrus, among the terms of agreement were these,—that each private should receive *one* daric a month, and the commander in chief *four*; * a scale of pay which is perfectly astonishing. We must not, however, conclude from this scale, that the privates, although within so short a distance of

* Anab. vii.

of their leader, were placed in very princely circumstances. Demosthenes, calculating the expenses of a levy which he is proposing, assures the people, that the estimate which he has submitted to them is not too low; and that, according to his computation, the army may find themselves very fairly remunerated, without the necessity of plundering the allies.* The idea of eking out low pay by a little quiet robbery among the allies, was, it seems, familiar to his audience.

The civil officers of the Athenian state had very little better reason to be grateful for republican munificence. Originally, archons were the principal ministers of the republic. It appears, that the sole reward enjoyed by these officers for their very laborious service, was a mere exemption from the usual contributions to the navy;† a regulation which, in the declining days of the republic, when every free denizen (as Potter expresses it), however poor, was eligible to the highest situations, was evidently of a most disastrous tendency. The silent operation of time, however, so far superseded the constitution of Solon, as to elevate the orators above the archons, and to arm them with a virtual controul over the legislative department of the state. But we cannot learn that any regular emolument was attached to this envied post, or that any pecuniary qualification was requisite for those who aspired to it. For pleading public causes, indeed, the orators were entitled to a fee out of the public exchequer; but, we believe, modern worthies of the robe would turn pale on learning the amount of this stipend. It amounted to the extravagant sum of a *drachma* (about eightpence Sterling) for every cause! The orator, it must be allowed, was frequently promoted to some regular and recognized official rank. He was appointed to preside over the exchequer, or was despatched on an embassy to a foreign state. How far his situation was improved in consequence of these appointments, may be conjectured from a fact which comes to us on the authority of an unimpeachable reporter. Demosthenes tells us, that on his mission, as joint ambassador with nine others, to Philip of Macedon, the daily allowance for each ambassador was what, in our money, would nearly amount to eightpence!

From these premises, which, were it necessary, it would not be difficult still further to confirm, an adequate notion may be formed of the *exigeant*, jealous, and penurious disposition of the 'fierce democracy' of Athens. It is commonly said, that public virtue is the master-principle of a republican government; and it is an opinion equally common, that the cheapness of such a government

* Phil. i. † Potter's Antiquities.

government is its great recommendation. A little reflection may prove to us, in the first place, that these two advantages are one and the same; and, in the second, that this advantage is by no means so great as, on a transient view, it appears. The virtue which a government, either republican, or constituted on principles essentially republican, demands from the subject, is in a great measure this,—that he shall serve without pay. Popular jealousy confirms what a romantic feeling of patriotism has ordained; and it may be safely presumed, that, had an Athenian orator moved the people to *decuple* the pay of a general, he would have been stoned to death. But men cannot serve without living in comfort. Few will serve conscientiously without living in splendour. The illicit acquisition of the means for both, is, in the purblind presence of a sovereign mob, but too easy; and occasional irregularity ripens at length into systematic transgression.

The general views which we have suggested on this subject, coincide, we are proud to say, with those of the great master of political philosophy; and the reader will, we are persuaded, delight to contemplate a short, but admirable exposition of them, from the pages of that profound and luminous dissertator.

'Ordinary service must be secured by the motives to ordinary integrity. I do not hesitate to say, that that state which lays its foundation in rare and heroic virtues, will be sure to have its superstructure in the basest profligacy and corruption. An honourable and fair profit is the best security against avarice and rapacity; as, in all things else, a lawful and regulated enjoyment is the best security against debauchery and excess. For, as wealth is power, so all power will infallibly draw wealth to itself by some means or other; and when men are left no way of ascertaining their profits but by their means of obtaining them, those means will be increased to infinity.'*

The other subject, on which we should have been happy to receive the benefit of Mr Mitford's remarks, respects an important branch of the internal economy of the Athenians. We should be glad to meet the question,—What effects were produced on their condition and character, by that legalized system of pecuniary dependence, in which so large a proportion of that people notoriously lived?

Besides the immense sums of public money lavished in providing theatrical entertainments, cost-free, for the Athenian multitudes, they were treated with baths, places of exercise, and places of conversation (or, as we should term them, *lounges*), in the utmost

* Burke's Speech on the Economical Reform.

most style of magnificence. The public sacrifices were apparently intended to propitiate other gods than those of Olympus; the people it seems receiving, on these occasions, an offering of substantial food. Generals returning from disgraceful expeditions, laden with the plunder, not of enemies, but of allies, conciliated their hungry sovereign by a public banquet; sometimes, as we learn, on a scale of incredible extravagance. The indigent citizens had their pay too, as well as their perquisites. They were supplied out of the public treasury; and that, according to some accounts, to an extent which might absolutely suffice for a livelihood. The effect of such a system on the morals and happiness of the community, may be guessed. Athens was in fact thus converted into that, which, of all the established receptacles of human misery, is in mischievous importance the third, (for it immediately follows Bedlam and Newgate), *an ill-regulated poor-house.* It was a vast institution, founded, it should appear, on the maxims, that the vicious man, being of all others, according to philosophers, the most proper object of pity, must be of all others the most proper object of charity also; and, that virtue having the privilege of being its own reward, would be highly unreasonable in aspiring after any other.

It has been generally said, and on plausible grounds at least, that the encouragement of population was a perfect hobbyhorse with the legislatures of the antient world. The importance of *men*, seems to have been a principle which sprung out of the necessities of those times, when every individual was a soldier; and, by the law of nature, principles, as well as animals, survive their parents. Mr Mitford, however, attributes to the Grecian governments the contrary policy; an opinion that surprises us from an author, who, on all subjects of importance, is as little likely to be ignorant of the judgment of the learned in general, as to form a hasty conclusion of his own. According to the reasoning which he employs, an increase of the number of citizens could not be for the interest, either of the popular assemblies, or of the presiding magistrates, of a Grecian republic. Not of the former, because it tended to cheapen their legislative franchise by multiplying the privileged; not of the latter, because, by augmenting the mass of the democratical interest, it rendered the management of the people more difficult. * The former argument is one, which a due sense of their own interest, united with reflection and forethought, would doubtless have suggested to a sovereign

* We are correct, we believe, in ascribing these sentiments to our author; but we cannot instantly turn to the place, though we believe it to be in one of the former volumes.

sovereign mob; and this is the very reason why we may be sure that it never occurred to them. The other assumes, what is not true, that the *impracticability* of a democratical assembly is always in proportion to its size. It surely can admit of no question, that that compound of numbers and fury, bulk and force, which makes mobs troublesome, admits of a *maximum;* and that what is afterwards gained by it in numerical value, may be more than lost in point of energy, consistency, and concert.

Whatever may have been the disposition, on this point, of the Athenian government, the public charities and benevolences that we have described, clearly belong to that class of stratagems which rulers too commonly adopt for the encouragement of population; and of which the common effect is, that they in reality discourage it. What, indeed, was the number of the Athenian citizens, history very imperfectly ascertains. The general results of more than one census have been preserved; but, respecting the principles on which the numeration was made, we are nearly in absolute darkness. Thus much is certain, that, from the mutual reaction of charity, and the demand for it, indigence grew faster than public relief. 'Formerly (says Isocrates), no citizen was reduced to the necessity of disgracing the city by public mendicity. At the present day, the needy are more numerous than those that enjoy a competence.' *

Before we quit the Athenians, it is necessary to revert, for a moment, to the state of parties among that people. We have said, that there was a popular and an aristocratical party. It is now to be observed, that the former was, according to Mr Mitford, and we believe according to the truth of the case, the invariable advocate of war. Nor must this be thought surprising. In countries, where war is seriously expensive, the friends of the more popular cause are apt to be advocates for peace. In Athens, war, as it was managed in the latter days of the republic, was hardly expensive. Naval depredation was nearly the whole of Athenian warfare; and to hear of victories, and to be enriched with plunder, was always highly gratifying to the despotic people. It concerns us to add, that, of this war party, Demosthenes is represented as having been a very active and very inflammatory member. Mr Mitford hates democracy, and therefore he hates Demosthenes.

Such was the position of Athens, when a rival to her power arose in a quarter that had as yet attracted little notice. During a course of years previously to the era of Philip, the kingdom of Macedon had been silently developing its energies. The progress of

* πλείους ὑπὸ τὴν σκηπτρίμενοι τῶν ἰχόντων. Areopagit.

of this development, Mr Mitford has detailed in an able and interesting manner. There is, however, one particular, in which, to our surprise, we find his account extremely defective. We allude to the constitution of the Macedonian government. Here, as it seems to us, the judgment of the historian has been warped by that antipathy to democracies which we have already described as one of his leading characteristics. In the Macedonian government, he discovers a resemblance to the English constitution. The king, it appears, 'was supreme, but not despotic.' Though invested with the highest authority in the military, judicial, and legislative departments, he was yet controuled in the exercise of that authority, by constitutional checks, by popular tribunals, by the assemblies of the people, and by established military restrictions. 'Thus far (adds Mr Mitford) our information is positive and clear.' We must confess that, to our understandings, there is, in truth, little positive, and no clear information, to be gleaned on this subject from the antient writers. As far, however, as their authorities may direct us, we are inclined to regard Mr Mitford's statement as encountered by presumptions almost irresistible. The constitution of Macedon was, in all probability, not a limited monarchy, but an absolute despotism, in the sense in which any despotism can be absolute. It does not follow, that it was always despotic in practice. It was often tempered by the disposition of the reigning prince, and the liberal genius of a brave and generous people. It was thus, in the course of time, insensibly shaded by the silent establishment of customs which might soften the glare of its power, and neither change its direction nor diminish its efficacy; but that it was in its essence and origin a *limited* government, systematically balanced by mutual restraint and reaction, is a position which appears extremely questionable.

Throughout the orations of Æschines and Demosthenes, the Macedonian government is comprised in Philip. Nothing appears to break in upon the unity of his power. His glories and his responsibility are equally incommunicable. If it should be said that the situation of those orators was peculiar, and that their connexion with Philip was in some sort personal, the same explanation will by no means apply to all their contemporaries, or to succeeding writers. Isocrates is indefatigable in his exhortation to Philip to place himself at the head of a Grecian confederacy, and turn the war against the Persians; but these exhortations are addressed to that monarch as an individual, and proceed on the supposition that he was absolute master and autocrat of the Macedonian people. If there had been an anti-Philippic party, it is utterly impossible that Demosthenes could

could have been ignorant of its existence; and, knowing its existence, it is equally impossible that he should have failed to take advantage of so fine a weapon against the object of his enmity. We may push this sort of reasoning further, and observe, that if such a party had existed, it would inevitably have entered into some intrigues, and formed some connexion with the anti-Macedonian party in Athens; and that allusions to such a junction would have been frequent, probably in the orations of Demosthenes, most certainly in those of Æschines and his supporters. Yet, if there was no popular party, does not a strong presumption arise, that the government was in no sense popular? or, was there ever a mixed constitution without a *fronde?*

The language of all the writers subsequent to the era of Philip, decidedly leads to the same conclusion. In Polybius, Livy, and Arrian, it is obvious that the king is considered as the prime and sole mover of all national operations.

It is not only, however, all immediate allusion to the points in question, that the antient authors conspire to omit. We find in them as little of indirect elucidation. If the Macedonian government was a limited monarchy, it must have been administered in part by the instrumentality of an hereditary nobility; but it appears plainly, that, in that constitution, there was no nobility but that which was official. We read, indeed, of a council to which the king was in the habit of resorting for advice. Arrian informs us, that there was a class of men distinguished by the title of the king's 'friends;'* and a still more select class, called 'attendants on his person,' or 'satellites.'† But it is palpable that these were not constitutional authorities, recognized by the theory of that government, or indebted for their existence to the laws of the realm. They held (if we may use the expression) immediately of the king, and had no independent claims upon his respect. The slightest reference to any of the histories of Macedon, will place all these particulars in their true light. We hear sometimes that the king selected a few from the number of his friends, for the purpose of requiring their advice; sometimes that they dreaded to dissent from the king in opinion, and timidly complied with his wishes; and sometimes that the king adopted measures in direct opposition to their judgment.

The only feature in the political constitution of Macedon, which seems to approximate to the order of hereditary nobility, is the institution of what were called 'royal children,' the *regii pueri* of Livy. This institution is stated by Curtius to have been coeval with the Macedonian empire; but Arrian (an unquestionably superior

* ἑταῖροι. † σωματοφύλακες.

superior authority) attributes the origin of it to Philip the First. That prince, it appears, collected the sons of the principal officers of the government as attendants upon his own person. But it does not appear that this institution ever led to what might perhaps have been expected from it, a privileged order. It was mere individual honour.

Our limits will not allow us to enter into the consideration whether any *popular* checks were opposed by the Macedonian constitution to the sovereign authority. It is enough to say, that there is no ground whatever for supposing any such checks were in being. In some of the towns, indeed, there appears to have been no small degree of freedom allowed in the election of municipal magistrates; but of any thing like a grand popular assembly, systematically performing the functions of one branch of the legislature, not a vestige can be traced.

The passages which are quoted by Mr Mitford in support of his representations, seem to us to be utterly inconclusive. Nothing can be more vague than the expressions of Curtius and Arrian on this occasion. They mention the antient customs and laws of the Macedonians;—and from these simple words is it discovered, that the Macedonian constitution resembled the English! We will close this subject, however, with a single quotation from Demosthenes, which seems decisive.

'And now consider those (the affairs) of Philip our antagonist. In the first place, his power over all his followers was absolute and uncontrouled,—the first great necessary article in war. Then, their arms were ever in their hands. Again, his finances were in the most flourishing condition. *In all his motions he consulted only with himself. He did not announce them by decrees; he did not concert them in a public assembly;* he was not exposed to false accusers; he was not to guard against impeachments; *he was not to submit his conduct to examination; but was in all things absolutely lord, leader, and governor.* To this man was I opposed: it is but just that you consider my circumstances. What did I command? Nothing. I had but the right of audience in our assemblies; a right which you granted to his hirelings equally with me. And as often as they prevailed against my remonstrances, (and oftentimes did they thus prevail, on various pretences), were you driven to resolutions highly favourable to the enemy. Loaded with all these difficulties I yet brought over to your alliance, the Eubæans, Achæans, Corinthians, Thebans, Myareans, Leucidians, Corcyreans.' *

Without further delay, we hasten to the first appearance of Philip. It is the history of this prince in which our author has displayed

* Leland de Coron.

diſplayed, as we have already mentioned, a diſpoſition to judge for himſelf, which we could wiſh to ſee more frequently combined with ſuch learning and powers of diſquiſition as he poſſeſſes.

It is neceſſary to ſtate in what the originality of Mr Mitford conſiſts, and what is its peculiar merit. Others have apologized for Philip, and railed at Demoſthenes; but the chief ſuperiority of our preſent author over all theſe writers, and all the writers who have oppoſed them, conſiſts in this,—that his opinion on this portion of hiſtory, inſtead of being a looſe and detached hypotheſis, is only one term in a regular ſeries of opinions; the reſult of a ſyſtem of principles carefully extracted from the whole previous hiſtory of Greece, conſiſtently developed throughout his work, and ſkilfully applied to the particular caſe before him. It is the convergence of ſo many rays, the apex of a pile, whoſe foundation is ſo broad, as deſervedly to command much attention and reſpect. We are far, however, from acquieſcing in all his views. He has erred, we think, where he might rather have been expected to err, in being too ſyſtematic. The general principles which his elaborate reſearch and extenſive information have enabled him to deduce from the previous hiſtory of Greece, have been ſeized, too, with quite as much keenneſs as is juſtifiable, and have been applied to the individual caſe too unſparingly, and with too ſtrong a determination to find them uniformly illuſtrated and confirmed. In one word, Mr Mitford *philippizes*.

The war-party, which we have already mentioned as being ſo troubleſome in Athens, was ever at variance with Philip. Our author's averſion to democracy in general, and to this democratical party in particular, have rendered him the natural ally of the Macedonian monarch. His partiality for this perſonage, is, indeed, but too apparent. Whether Philip deſtroys Olynthus, or diſmantles the cities of Phocis,—whether he is in Thrace or Greece,—fighting or negotiating,—he finds in Mr Mitford a conſtant and a reſolute friend.

To verify this ſtatement, and at the ſame time to poſſeſs our readers with a diſtinct notion of the complexion of Mr Mitford's preſent volume, it will be neceſſary to accompany him through ſome of the leading tranſactions between Philip and the Athenian republic;—a detail which can ſcarcely fail to be intereſting, when it is conſidered that the object of it is to ſettle the political character of one of the moſt important periods in hiſtory.

It is well known that, on his acceſſion to the throne, Philip found himſelf at war with the Athenians who ſupported one of his competitors. Having defeated them in a ſignal manner, he inſtantly liberated all the priſoners, and ſent them to Athens, not only without ranſom, but loaded with favours. 'Knowing then,

(proceeds our historian), that, of all their former empire, the Athenians coveted the recovery of Amphipolis, he sent immediate orders for a body of troops stationed there, probably from the time of his brother Perdiccas, perhaps of Alexander, to be withdrawn.' We do not, we confess, perceive any close connexion between the two parts of this sentence. How the abandonment of Amphipolis to its own laws and independence, could gratify the Athenian cupidity for the possession of that place, (for this is the intended inference), is beyond our power to conjecture. This measure is generally quoted as an example, not of the generosity, but of the policy, of Philip; but, whatever is thought of it, we believe that it was intended as nothing less than as a favour to Athens.

Peace, however, and alliance, were concluded between the belligerents;—soon to be succeeded by a war famous in history. If there be any one subject of inquiry interesting to the historian, it is the origin of this war, which has hitherto been left in great obscurity. The account of Mr Mitford is as follows.

Philip and the Athenians, being now in alliance, engaged in an offensive war against the Olynthian confederacy, with what purpose or pretext is unknown. Their outset was auspicious; and they had advanced far towards the most prosperous issue, when the Athenians suddenly turned short on their own ally, and instigated the inhabitants of Pydna, a seaport town subject to Macedon, to revolt from Philip, and trust to the support and protection of the Athenian people. Of course, the alliance with Philip was at an end; and Philip, incensed, sent ministers to Athens to demand redress, which, however, he could not obtain. The Athenians then took measures to possess themselves of Amphipolis, and with some difficulty succeeded. But, in about a year from this time, it was attacked by Philip and the Olynthians, who were now at peace and in alliance, and was quickly taken.

A story more disgraceful to the ruling party in Athens, and more completely justificatory of the conduct of Philip in attacking Amphipolis, could hardly be imagined. It hinges, however, it will be observed, on two points;—the successful treachery of the Athenians in detaching Pydna from the kingdom of Macedon,—and their subsequent acquisition of Amphipolis. Of the first, though such stress is laid on it by our author, the circumstances seem to us to be so very obscurely intimated by antient accounts, that little indeed can be made of it. With respect to the other, we are afraid the matter is still worse, and that there is no proof of the Athenians having seized Amphipolis,—though they certainly attacked it. There is, at least, none that we can find

find throughout the orators, or in Diodorus; and we could easily mention much that looks the other way, if the silence of so many authorities were not sufficient.

Still it may fairly be maintained, that the justice of this contest was on the side of Philip; because, in the absence of better intelligence, we may accept the statements of Diodorus, who informs us,* that this prince had received strong provocation from the inhabitants of Amphipolis. At all events, his invasion of that state could hardly be condemned by a partizan of the Athenians,—whose own previous attack upon it appears to have been utterly unjustifiable. We are perfectly willing to reject, with Mr Mitford, the improbable story, that Philip, during the siege of Amphipolis, soothed the Athenian people, by promising freely to deliver it, when taken, into their hands.

The circumstances of the Phocian war, which mixed itself with that between Athens and Philip, do not altogether fall within the scope of the present sketch. The same remark may be extended to the contemporary war, called the Social; and also to the policy pursued by the Athenians with regard to the kingdom of Thrace. Yet there can be no impropriety in observing, that, in all these respects, Mr Mitford unanswerably proves the conduct of the Athenian government to have been highly ambitious, selfish, and unprincipled.

The island of Eubœa was another field of battle in which the mutual animosity of Athens and Macedon displayed itself. Demosthenes, in his oration on the Crown, points to the Eubœan policy of Philip, as an *experimentum crucis* in proof of it. Yet we are induced to omit all mention of it, because, from the frequent imperfectness of information on the subject,—the strangely intertwisted state of parties in the place referred to,—and the consequent intricacy of Eubœan politics in general,—we have found ourselves inextricably perplexed. This is a part of the question which has no necessary connexion with the rest: it is not clear; and there is enough that is clear without it.

The next prominent feature in the annals of this war, is the defection of Olynthus from the Macedonian to the Athenian alliance, and its consequent investiture by Philip. As to the origin of his hostilities against Olynthus, Philip has been grossly calumniated by the great majority of historians. It is demonstrable, from Demosthenes himself,† that the Olynthians were the aggressors, by making first a separate peace, and then an offensive

* —τῶν τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν οἰκούντων ἀλλοτρίως πρὸς αὐτὸν διατιθέντων καὶ πολλὰς ἀφορμὰς δόντων ἐις πόλεμον. Lib. 16.

† Olynth. 3. vers. init.

fensive alliance with Athens: and, what is more, that they took this step in consequence of instigation from that republic. The event of the siege itself has, with more colour, been made a common-place of invective against the memory of its conqueror. The current story is, that, having obtained possession of the place by the scandalous treachery of some of the inhabitants whom he had bribed, he razed it to the ground, and sold the people for slaves.

However Olynthus was acquired, there can be little doubt that it was treated in the manner described. The utter demolition of the city, indeed, Mr Mitford himself states,—although, out of tenderness for the demolisher, he has couched his report in the following gentle terms. 'The surrender of the place quickly following, the king of Macedonia proceeded immediately to the measure which the interest of his kingdom, not less than his own interest, imperiously required,—the abolition of a republic on its coast, balancing between dependency on Macedonia for protection against the claimed dominion of Athens, and subjection to Athens, which would involve extreme hazard for the independency of Macedonia.' Without waiting to sift the very questionable reasoning insinuated in this paragraph, we must express our regret, that, in behalf of his hero, our author should have nothing better to offer than the 'tyrant's dev'lish plea,' necessity. The sequel of the tale Mr Mitford seems sorely inclined to disbelieve. 'Support (he tells us) wholly fails among the orators of the day, for the report of the annalist of three centuries after, that he plundered the town, and sold the inhabitants for slaves.' This, however, we think, is not said with our historian's wonted accuracy. Some sanction, at least, seems to us to be given to this report by Demosthenes,* who, reproaching Æschines with a desertion of the anti-Philippic principles he had once professed, reminds him of his having wept over the fate of a gang of slaves, consisting of women and children, whom he had accidentally met during a journey, and whom, on inquiry, he had found to be some Olynthian captives bestowed by Philip on their present possessor. This occurrence is said to have taken place while Æschines was absent on a mission to Peloponnesus; the anecdote is related to the discredit of Æschines, not of Philip; and, consequently, the incidental light which it throws on the treatment of the conquered Olynthians, is the more valuable.

The allegations of corruption against Philip, and of treachery against his Olynthian partizans, to which the Athenian orator is fond

* Dem. de legat.

fond of recurring as often as he mentions the destruction of Olynthus, our author goes very near to repel. A reputation for gratitude and munificence must invariably act as a bribe on those who are in a capacity to interest such qualities in their favour; and such were generally, it should appear, the bribes of the Macedonian monarch. Still, when we combine the two charges of bribing and cruelty,—of corruption insuring success, and severity following it,—the conduct of Philip, in this affair, seems to admit of no justification. That the Olynthians were neither stormed nor starved out, all accounts bear us out in assuming. It follows, that they must either have surrendered at discretion, or have been betrayed. If, as Mr Mitford affirms, and as the fragments of information extant on the matter incline us to believe, the former was the case, it will be difficult to exonerate Philip from the double charge of hardness of heart and artfulness. The political annihilation of a city, which had voluntarily thrown open her gates to him, is not highly creditable to his generosity;—the voluntary surrender of a city, which he intended to annihilate, must cast no light suspicion on his openness.

According to Demosthenes, the Macedonian, on his near approach to Olynthus, announced to the inhabitants, that 'one of two things must take place;—either they must quit Olynthus, or he Macedonia.'* This hard saying was perhaps addressed to a particular party in the city; because, otherwise, it is scarcely reconcileable with the ready capitulation that followed. No man opens his doors, for the pleasure of being turned out of his house. At present, however, we have cited this reported laconism of Philip, merely for the purpose of showing how Mr Mitford has licked a speech, which has the merit of bluntness at least, into as courtly a *mittimus* as can well be imagined. 'He gave for answer, "That it was too late. He had before abundantly and repeatedly expressed his earnestness to treat; but now it was become too evident that there was but one alternative;—they must quit Olynthus, or he Macedonia." (p. 428.)

As for the fables about Philip's brothers, whom he found in Olynthus, and murdered without ceremony,—these, and all the other tales of wonder, so abundant in the romantic pages of Justin, only receive their deserts when they are consigned to contempt.

The anxiety of Mr Mitford to paint Philip as complete in every thing great and every thing small, discovers itself very amusingly in a scene which quickly followed the events last described. A

* Philip. 3.

negotiation for peace was entered into between the contending parties; and two several embassies were despatched from Athens to Macedon. Demosthenes, it is well known, accompanied both; and in both exposed himself not a little at the Macedonian court. On the second occasion, he placed himself in that most ridiculous of all lights,—the clown affecting the courtier; and this, as Æschines, in his humorous sketch of the scene, informs us, to the no small merriment of the assembly. * But our author watches over every muscle of his favourite hero; and we were quite diverted at his so carefully adding a little clause of his own to the story of Æschines, by way of saving Philip's credit for good manners. The appearance made by Demosthenes, he informs us, was so ludicrous, 'that, *though Philip himself preserved a decent gravity*, the bystanders could not refrain from laughing aloud.'

The circumstances attending the conclusion of this war, including, under that term, the Sacred war which had so long harassed Phocis, form one of the prime objects of attention in the history of Philip; and it is fortunate that the information which has reached posterity respecting them is nearly as full as could be wished. We will attempt to place the subject in a fair light; and, for this purpose, it fortunately will not be necessary to labour through all the various involutions of party-politics in Athens. On that department of the business, our author furnishes a good deal of able disquisition; particularly in the third section of his thirty-ninth chapter, which, though it occasionally applies a little too much of the torture to its authorities, † is, on the whole, equally creditable to his ingenuity and powers of research. In the minor squabbles or intrigues, however, of the Athenian statesmen, we cannot afford to take much concern.

The Phocians, it is notorious, were the natural allies of Athens. The story of Demosthenes is, that, with a view to reduce the power of Athens, and to further his designs against the liberties of Greece, Philip had determined to effect the political annihilation of Phocis, and that Æschines descended to be his chief agent in the execution of this abandoned project; that, on the conclusion of the treaty of peace between Philip and the Athenians, a treaty, out of which the Phocians were expressly excluded, that monarch marched to the Straits of Thermopylæ professedly to adjust the Phocian affairs; that the Athenians quietly permitted his progress,

* —γέλωτις οὐχ τυχόντις ἐγένοντο. Æsch. de legat. p. 280.

† *Ex. gr.* In saying (p. 441.) that Aristodemus made 'a *lame* apology for his delay.' Æschines does not say this.

gress, because they had been deceived by the fair promises of Æschines, who, having just returned from his second embassy to Macedon, had assured them that the real intention of Philip was to humble, not Phocis, but Thebes; that thus Philip gained tranquil possession of all the cities of the Phocians; which event was quickly followed by the Amphictyonic decree, subverting the very existence, in a political character, of that people. This is not a full account of the statements of Demosthenes; but we believe it to be a correct one. *

These statements Demosthenes gives us in his speech as prosecutor of Æschines; and it is curious to observe the manner in which they are met by the defender. Mr Mitford, indeed, represents the reply as in every point not only satisfactory, but triumphant; but, surely, this compliment is only partially merited by that admirable composition, and by no part of it less than that which relates to the Phocian charge. This was a very leading, if not the principal, head of crimination; the orator himself allows it to be such; yet it is kept out of sight, and apparently with some study, till he has thrown up some strong works before it, by a minute and successful vindication of his conduct in various other particulars. Approaching it at length, he now begins to find brevity desirable, and to excuse his necessary avoidance of detail. He then flatly denies that he had held out, in his report of his mission, any false prospects with respect to the fate of the Phocians;—he had merely declared that, in his own opinion, justice demanded, at the hands of Philip, the humiliation of Thebes, rather than of Phocis; and that he had avowed this opinion at the court of Macedon. Thus, then, we are to believe, that the people of Athens, the most anxious, curious, acute, and tyrannical mob that ever called itself a deliberative assembly, were content with hearing the opinions of their own ambassador when they had been convoked to hear those of Philip, and consented to be put off with a political lecture when they expected a diplomatic report. Could this fancy be played with even for a moment, more than suspicion would be thrown over it by the orator himself, who, elsewhere, in the same speech, acknowledges that he had returned from Macedon with the most sanguine conviction of the good intentions of Philip respecting Phocis, and his purposed humiliation of Thebes; and that, in fact, such a conviction had been universal. Supposing, however, any deception to have been practised in this affair, Æschines, though an instrument in it, was not necessarily a party. If Philip desired to deceive the Athenians, it would apparently be his shortest course to deceive

* Dem. de legat.

their ambassador; and that the ambassador should not afterwards proclaim himself duped, will not seem unaccountable to those who recollect the difficulty of a retreat in the face of so active and merciless an enemy as a popular assembly.

In the midst of all this evasion, not to say prevaricatory explanation, we have the testimony of Æschines himself to this important fact, that the Athenian people had been taught to indulge the most flattering expectations with regard to the final adjustment of the affairs of Phocis; which expectations met with a stunning disappointment. He says more. He says that 'some *friends of Philip*' had excited these expectations; thus completely confirming every thing that is of a public nature in the charge of Demosthenes.

The scope of Mr Mitford's representation is, that the measures of his hero, on this occasion, are not chargeable either with severity or with fraud. The treatment of the Phocians, he contends, was comparatively moderate, if due account be made of the state of Greece at that time,—of the virulent antipathies of Philip's Theban and Thessalian allies against the inhabitants of Phocis,—of the horror in which the sacrilegious acts committed by that people were generally held,—and of the cruelty licensed by the Greek laws of war. He maintains, that the promises held out by Philip to Athens, merely pledged his good offices to protect the Phocians from the rage of his allies; that, as such, they were understood and trusted to by the Phocian government itself; and that they were religiously performed. From the authority of Æschines, he proves that the Thebans resented the humanity thus shown by Philip. He proves also, that, previously to the issue of the business, some coolness subsisted between the governments of Athens and Phocis, which, as he maintains, tended to throw the latter into the arms of Macedon.

Here are two points of discussion;—the alleged moderation, all circumstances considered, of the measure in question; and the alleged openness of the policy which carried it into effect. With respect to the former, it appears to us, that the whole of our author's assertions are overthrown by a single fact, which appears from his own history, and from every other. It is this,—that the Phocians, supported as they were, were fairly matched with their enemies, till Philip entered the field against them. They held the balance stoutly, and, but for his interference, they would have held it on. 'The state of Greece,' therefore, of which Mr Mitford talks somewhat ambiguously, would have justified a peace on equal terms,—excepting so far as that state was altered by Philip himself; and it is rather too much to attempt

persuading

persuading us, that this personage might take advantage of his own wrong, and plead in his defence a necessity of his own creation. To urge, that the Macedonians were outnumbered, and consequently overawed by their allies, seems little better than tea-table talk; first, because the assertion is apparently not true; and secondly, because, even if it were so, Philip, before he had set foot within the gates of Greece, must, with a glance, have perceived, and might, with a single order, have provided against the difficulty.

With regard to the morality of the means, our doubts are scarcely less violent than with respect to the moderation of the measure itself. The promises in favour of the Phocians, were not indeed officially conveyed from Philip; but, if the consenting authority of two great rival orators is not to be trampled under foot, they were universally current in the mouths of the Macedonian party in Athens; and, what Mr Mitford should particularly observe, they were not confined to a protection little better than a sacrifice, but stipulated the full integrity of the Phocian state, with the addition of the dismemberment of the Theban empire in Bœotia. That the Athenians, indeed, should knowingly have suffered, without even a breath of remonstrance, the utter annihilation of their natural ally, is only more probable than that other wonder which our historian would palm upon us, that the Phocians, out of pure distaste for the friendship of poor Chares and his gang of democrats, should have courted and insisted on destruction from the hands of Philip. In all this proceeding, we must not too hastily conclude, that the part acted by the Macedonian king was consummately profligate, or basely perfidious. The protection of life which he extended to the Phocians, was in that age a stretch of humanity; and his previous professions scarcely appear to have been dictated by any deliberate and methodized plan of deception. It were harsh, perhaps, to describe his conduct as craft purveying for tyranny; but it might, we fear, be called *finesse* ministering to ambition.

There are, however, two arguments on the other side, which, diffuse as we have been, call for a passing attention. Philip, it seems, proved his disinterestedness as to the event of the Sacred war, by requesting the Lacedemonians to take into their hands the entire adjustment of the affairs of Phocis. Such a proposition, if he was sincere in it, very obviously implied his promise to guarantee the execution of any decree which the Lacedæmonians might make; and the Lacedæmonians, we need hardly say, were known to be the sworn friends of his foes the Phocians, and the sworn foes of his friends the Thebans. If, then, the admirers of

Philip

Philip can reconcile the circumſtance of this propoſition with the neceſſities under which, according to their own repreſentation, he acted in the whole affair, we wiſh them joy of a hypotheſis which imputes to their hero a ſhameful ſacrifice of his allies to their enemies! Demoſthenes, indeed, who relates the circumſtance, adds, that the offer of Philip was entirely colluſive; but Mr Mitford, according to his uſual ſyſtem, has rejected what ſeems at firſt ſight the bad half of the tale. He would have done better, perhaps, to reject the whole of it. It is far too vague and obſcure to prove any thing againſt Philip, except in the hands of his champions.

Secondly, it is mentioned that Philip, on his approach to Phocis, wrote twice to the Athenians, deſiring them to join his army with their whole force, apparently, as joint-arbitrators in the concerns of which he was about to diſpoſe. A ſtrong anti-Philippiſt, however, would be apt to intimate, that the Athenians were much more likely to be alarmed into a march by the movements of Philip, than to be excited to it by his letters; and that he might very well, therefore, rate the certainty of their being ſoothed by his invitation, rather higher than the riſk of their accepting it. The plainer account of the matter ſeems to be, that both theſe letters of Philip reached Athens within a bare fortnight,* at the moſt, before the intelligence of the complete ſubjugation of Phocis to the Macedonian yoke. No army which the Athenians could, in that interval, have ſaddled upon him, would have proved any effectual incumbrance; and Philip, no man will doubt, was intimately well acquainted with the extent of their military reſources.

It remains only to note two or three points in the tranſactions juſt conſidered, in which Mr Mitford has, as we conceive, been ſomewhat inaccurate. The ſpeech of Æſchines, on his return from the embaſſy, our author has cooked up from what he conſiders as the prejudiced report of Demoſthenes. We ſhould rather have expected him to reſort to Æſchines himſelf,† who gives an account of the ſpeech alluded to, conſiderably different both from the report of his rival, and from the amended report of his hiſtorian. Again, he ſays of Demoſthenes,

'We find him acknowledging that the interest of the Phocians was totally unprovided for in the treaty with Macedonia; and this he justifies so far as to avow, that he imputed no ill even to Æschines on that account: σιωπᾶν καὶ ἐᾶν ἐκὸς ἦν: 'it was very well to be silent about it and let it alone.' Demosth. de legat. p. 354.' p. 464.

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* Dem. de legat. 357 & 359. † Æsch. de fals. legat.

The force, however, of this paſſage in Demoſthenes, which refers to the *expreſs* excluſion of the Phocians from the benefit of the treaty, is ſimply this: 'No good could have been intended to the Phocians, otherwiſe they would not have been *declared* to be excepted, but merely *paſſed over in ſilence.*'

Thirdly, according to Mr Mitford, the return of the ambaſſador Doryllus to Athens, which is deſcribed as having thrown the city into ſuch conſternation, took place on the promulgation of the Amphictyonic decree againſt the ſtate of Phocis. We would obſerve, however, with deference, that it certainly took place on the *ſpondæ*, or the firſt ſurrender of the Phocian cities to Philip. Much confuſion has been introduced into the dates of the ſhort but buſy period under review; nor are we aware of any account of them that is quite complete. The following, which has been formed from a collation of the ſeveral paſſages bearing on the ſubject, will, we hope, be found ſatisfactory. On the *thirteenth* of the month Scirophorion, Æſchines, Demoſthenes, and their fellow ambaſſadors of the ſecond embaſſy, returned from the court of Philip; and about the ſame time Philip arrived at Thermopylæ. On the *ſixteenth* the ambaſſadors made their report to the aſſembled people; and the decrees of Philocrates were paſſed. On the *eighteenth* or *nineteenth*, a third embaſſy to Philip was decreed, and both Æſchines and Demoſthenes declined being ambaſſadors. On the *twenty-third*, took place the *ſpondæ*, or ſurrender of the Phocian cities to Philip. On the *twenty-ſeventh*, Doryllus arrived in Athens, and announced the ſurrender of the cities.

If we may be now allowed to dip for a moment into party-matters, we ſhould obſerve, *fourthly*, that, with reſpect to the reception afforded at Athens to the letters of Philip, inviting them to join him with their forces, Mr Mitford has done ſomewhat leſs than juſtice to the partizans of Chares,—to thoſe of Phocion ſomewhat more. That the former diſſuaded the people from a compliance with that invitation, is ſtoutly aſſerted by Æſchines,—and we believe it. But it is as ſtoutly aſſerted by Demoſthenes;* and, the aſſertion being uncontradicted in his rival's reply, we muſt believe it equally, that a compliance with the invitation was not urged, as Mr Mitford would fain believe, by the oppoſite party. *Once more*, Æſchines and Demoſthenes, we have obſerved, both declined all concern in the third embaſſy to Philip; but Mr Mitford does Demoſthenes much injuſtice in giving us to underſtand, that Æſchines declined firſt, and that Demoſthenes was induced to follow his example, by 'the fear of leaving the aſſembly in a critical moment to the unbalanced eloquence' of his rival. Mr Mitford cannot have read the authors in

* Dem. de legat. p. 357.

in queſtion with his accuſtomed care. He will, on a recurrence to them, find that Demoſthenes 'ſwore off' at the very inſtant when his name was propoſed; while the other was virtually choſen,—but afterwards, on the plea of ill health, procured from the ſenate of five hundred ſome kind of permiſſion to remain in the city.

The Amphictyonic body, after expelling the Phocians from their number, elected Philip as a member, and gave him the privilege which had been enjoyed by the Phocians, of a double vote. Mr Mitford is careful to repreſent this as a free election; whereas, we have found it in vain to ſuppreſs the ſuſpicion that the reverend electors had received a *congé-d'élire* from the royal candidate himſelf. It may ſeem a trifling circumſtance; but for that very reaſon it betrays the inſenſible partialities of the author, that Diodorus places the election of Philip at the very beginning of the Amphictyonic decree; while Mr Mitford, provident of that character of liberty, and regard to the intereſts of Greece, which he has aſcribed to the court in queſtion, makes them finiſh every thing firſt, before they have leiſure to think of king Philip. 'It remained to diſpoſe of the right of double vote in the Amphictyonic aſſembly,' &c. &c. Uniformly, afterwards, Philip is ſet forth (at leaſt while he is in Greece) in the delegated character of *Amphictyonic General*,—and his army is the Amphictyonic army!

'The right of repreſentation (ſays Mr Mitford) in the council of Amphictyons, being given to the reigning family of Macedonia, Philip, with juſt deference to his co-eſtates, ſent them ſeverally notice of it.' On this occaſion, the Athenians were diſpoſed to decline acknowledging their new co-eſtate; and, among the war-party, ſome ſtrong ſymptoms diſcovered themſelves of a diſpoſition inſtantly to replunge the city in hoſtilities. Demoſthenes, on this occaſion, delivered his oration *on the peace*; of which Mr Mitford gives us a far more correct view, than moſt modern hiſtorians. 'Through an argument profeſſing peace (ſays our author) he excites the people to war, ambition, cupidity, and reſentment.' In fact, however, we have been unable to diſcover in this ſpeech, any 'argument profeſſing peace.' The ſimple ſcope of the orator is, to diſſuade the people, not from going to war, but from going to war *about a ſhadow*.

On the hoſtile proceedings of the Athenian commander Diopithes againſt Philip, we entirely concur with this learned writer, and willingly reſign, on this occaſion, the war-party to his fury. It is not our purpoſe to defend the ambition of Athens, any more than that of Philip. Indeed, after all, the former is clearly the leaſt defenſible of the two. We acquieſce, alſo, in his repreſentations of the war between Philip and the Helleſpon-

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tian cities; and in his comments on the celebrated, admirable, and unanswerable letter of the Macedonian monarch to the republic of Athens. This letter, we may further observe, Mr Mitford has translated with great correctness and perspicuity.

We now approach the last event in our series,—the Amphissian or second sacred war, which again drew Philip into the heart of Greece, and issued in the battle of Cheronea. The incidents that occasioned this war, the reader knows, were a violation of consecrated ground by the Locrians of Amphissa, and an annunciation of that sacrilege to the Amphictyonic court by Æschines. That orator himself, without any proof, asserts that he had been provoked to this step by the insolence of a Locrian, who affected to accuse Athens of sacrilege; and this assertion Demosthenes, with very lame proof, denies. The Amphissians refusing obedience to the Amphictyonic decrees on the occasion, the court, after a flimsy attempt at reducing them by force of arms, determined to commission Philip, as their general, to vindicate their authority. Æschines, however, as plainly appears from his oration against Ctesiphon, was not present at the meeting in which this resolution passed. Modern historians have the art, not only of knowing what the antients knew not, but of knowing better what they knew. On the present occasion, they have discovered that the Locrian, whose insults first provoked Æschines to denounce the sacrilegious Amphissians, was not, as Demosthenes maintains, a nonentity, but an accomplice in the plot of exciting a sacred war; and that Æschines, in person, introduced the resolution for inviting Philip to avenge the cause of Apollo.

How far any of the ostensible agents in this affair were suborned by the Macedonian monarch, it seems hopeless now to conjecture. The extreme and unusual solemnity with which the charge of subornation is brought forward by Demosthenes, yet the utter want of all admissible proof of it;—the suspiciousness of the circumstance that a new crusade should so quickly spring up out of the ashes of the former, yet the balancing consideration that the Amphictyonic confederacy had been recently restored to a part of their former efficiency and pride;—the singular suitableness of a sacred war to promote the supposed ambitious purposes of Philip, yet the complexity of the machinery required in the fabrication of it;—the speciousness of the alleged plot, yet its wickedness:—all these intervolved considerations leave us perfectly entangled and dubious. Mr Mitford, of course, vindicates Philip; but by arguments much more ingenious than conclusive.

But, not content with defensive measures, our author turns on Demosthenes the fire of his own batteries, and attributes the Amphissian war solely to the caballing restlessness and gunpowder spirit

spirit of the war-party in Athens. The grounds for this recrimination are these:—that the little state of Amphissa cannot be believed to have ventured on a defiance of the whole Amphictyonic confederacy, without secret promises of powerful assistance; that, in the event, the Athenians actually assisted them with an army of ten thousand men; and that the Amphictyons, by the importance which they obviously attached to the first resistance of their insignificant enemy, and their connecting the occasion with a deliberation on the interests of all Greece, showed their sense of the real, though unprobed, depth of the conspiracy against them. Now, on consulting authorities, we cannot find either that the Athenians joined the Amphissians till Philip took part in the war, or that the Amphictyons, in their special meeting on this occasion, consulted on the general interests of Greece. The improbability of a determination on the part of the Amphissian people to struggle alone against religious prejudices, allied with the troops of Philip, would be an argument of some weight, were it not opposed by others that are weightier. For, forgetting, what ought not to be forgotten, that the conjecture of Mr Mitford derives no countenance from Æschines,—and granting, what certainly seems unquestionable, the blind hatred of the war-party against Philip; still, it never could be the object of Demosthenes to excite a war of this description.

First, it is as perfectly notorious as a profusion of authority can make it, that it was the favourite policy of this statesman to adjourn all contest with Philip to a distance from Attica. Nothing else than this drew on him the noted reproof of Phocion,—'Pray, consider, not where we are to fight, but how we are to conquer.' It could not, therefore, be his object to instigate measures, of which the first effect would be, the appearance of a Macedonian army within three days march of Athens. Secondly, it could not be his object to confer on Philip, by his mode of attacking him, the advantage of all those alliances, both of opinion and of force, which would naturally fall into the train of an Amphictyonic general. This very idea it is, which Demosthenes so strongly inculcates in his oration on the peace; it forms, in effect, the whole groundwork of that speech; and its evident reasonableness shows the speaker to have been sincere. Thirdly, it would have been fatuity on his part, to provoke the hostile entrance of the arch-enemy into the heart of Greece, while his famous negociation of alliance with Thebes was yet in its infancy. In truth, the reader well knows that, in the sequel, the very sight of the Macedonian camp had nearly frightened that immature negociation to death; and, had it been actually crushed, had the Thebans supported, not Athens, but Philip, the resistance which all

all the ability of Demosthenes could have conjured up in behalf of his country, would have been but another road to destruction.

But we would here quit this unprofitable chase after secret articles and subterraneous plots, and suggest what seems, on the surface of these events, unfavourable to the fame of the Macedonian conqueror. At first view, and taken by itself, his expedition to Amphissa seems even ludicrous. An imperial sovereign summoned to settle a petty vestry-squabble! An army marching to enjoy the amusement of pounding a few damage-fesant cattle, and projecting a few old women from a rock! It was, at the best, a service in which neither fame nor popularity could be acquired;—fame could not be had by slaughtering the little, and popularity was only hazarded by alarming the great. The admirers, therefore, and the accusers of Philip, have concurred in seeking out some hidden springs for these transactions.

Whatever these parties may respectively take credit for discovering, there is one thing which neither can well deny;—it is, that the second sacred expedition of Philip grew entirely out of that policy which partly occasioned the first, partly was exemplified in it, and partly was perfected by it,—a readiness, gradually ripening into a wish, to mingle in the politics of Greece, and to be recognized as a member of the Hellenic body. This wish was early discernible; and as early alarmed the jealousy of a large party at least in Greece. It was, however, never abandoned. With a tenth part of his acuteness, Philip must have foreseen the heartburnings which his second appearance within the gates would occasion; yet he reappeared. The appearance on such an errand might be insignificant in itself; but it was important when taken with the context. It was a joke; but it sustained his right to enter the lists, and reminded men that Philip existed. The Amphissian war, as it is called, was nothing more than a morning's work, and the conqueror might have been expected to retire on its close, especially as his presence had already given such umbrage;—but he remained, as is evident from the orators, for many months. He would not recede from his claim of being a Grecian. It was beyond question, therefore, a spirit of interference in this singular man, though we may call it a laudable spirit if we will, which ultimately led to the battle of Cheronea. If, however, it were asked, in what the evil, the *virus* of ambition consists; it might be answered, very much in its pragmatical restlessness, in the eagerness to be somebody, in the wish to make one in the game, which soon becomes a wish to be the first. Ambition may be extremely active and vicious, where it is not absolutely of a devouring nature; and an undue anxiety after eminence, though

though always far less disgusting than a lawless cupidity of dominion, may, under certain circumstances, be little less mischievous, and not much less reprehensible.

The battle of Cheronea humbled the pride of Athens; but not, it should appear, that of the Athenian war-party. Notwithstanding their discomfiture, therefore, Mr Mitford, '*Not half suffic'd, and greedy yet to kill,*' pursues them with unabated ardour. The disaster at Cheronea, he contends, so exasperated the people against the instigators of the battle, that Demosthenes, under some pretext, not requiring to be stated here, withdrew himself for a season from Athens. In the mean time, the party, finding it necessary to sooth their many-headed sovereign, adopted with that view a measure unspeakably atrocious. They determined to sacrifice, to the fury of the mob, their own general, Lysicles, who, jointly with Chares, had commanded the Athenians at Cheronea. This unhappy man was accordingly impeached by Lycurgus, a celebrated orator of the war-party, and delivered over to the executioner. Demosthenes, shortly after, returned to Athens.

So dreadful a crime, we hesitate not to say, should not have been imputed on such light authority. In the first place, we will venture to deny, that the flight of Demosthenes from Athens was occasioned by his dread of the people. It was rather occasioned by his dread of Philip. This is expressly affirmed by Dinarchus, in his speech * against Demosthenes; and thus we may perhaps explain an expression in Æschines, of which Mr Mitford complains as obscure. Speaking of his rival, Æschines says, that he was brought back to the city (not by 'a fortunate occurrence'), but by 'the unhoped-for salvation' † of Athens; alluding to the generous forgiveness of the Athenians and of Demosthenes by Philip.

Next, with respect to the accusation of Lysicles, Diodorus, who is the only ‡ author quoted for it, does not state the crime of which he was accused; and will Mr Mitford undertake to assert, that he might not have been guilty of cowardice or treachery? But, what if we should deny the fact *in toto?* What if we should assert, that the testimony of Diodorus is invalidated by the silence of the orators on the subject?—that either Æschines, §, who reprobates Demosthenes as the author of the calamity at Cheronea,

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* " Ἐπειδὴ ἤκουσε μετὰ τὴν μάχην τὴν ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ Φίλιππον εἰς τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν μάλλον ἐσπουδάλλιεν, αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν περιστείλατο καταισχυνάσας ἵν' ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀποδρᾷη κ. τ. λ." *Dinarch. contr. Demosth.*

† " τῆς ἀπροσδοκήτου σωτηρίας."

‡ The Pseudo-Plutarch, who wrote the life of Lycurgus, may be added, if he is worth it.

§ De Coron.

Cheronea, or Demosthenes, who at some length repels that reproach, would almost necessarily have hinted at circumstances so important as the crime and the punishment of Lysicles?—that Lycurgus himself, in his oration, still extant, against Leocrates, who was accused for having deserted the city after the battle of Cheronea, could hardly have failed to mention them? It is true that, in this speech, Lycurgus gives us to understand, that some persons had been capitally punished after that battle. But, if we think proper to consider this as a confirmation of the account in Diodorus, we must accept it entire, and remember, that the crime for which these persons are stated to have suffered, was cowardice.

It is unnecessary to inform the reader, that the Athenians received, from the victorious Philip, a treatment remarkably humane and liberal,—the Thebans one by no means cruel. But our author cannot be content with such measured praise; and is determined to prove, that the conqueror was in all points equally merciful;—merciful to the Athenians, in leaving them free,—merciful to the Thebans, in making them slaves. It seems, that to establish in Bœotia 'a sure preponderance of the party friendly,' not to Philip, but 'to the Amphictyonic confederacy of the peace of Greece, was most especially necessary to the welfare of the whole alliance.' Next, it seems that, for the moment, this party did already preponderate in the Theban government; for the Thebans, far from having been beat (as we had supposed) into submission, received the conqueror with open arms. Then, it seems, that in order to save this governing party from the cruel necessity of banishing the party in opposition to them, 'the Cadmeia was occupied by a garrison from the Amphictyonic army.' Amidst all these discoveries, we do not wish to be left behind, and therefore shall venture to add a conjecture of our own; and it is,—that this Amphictyonic garrison received all its orders, not from the Amphictyonic party in Thebes, but from the Amphictyonic general in Macedonia.

The historical sketch which we have attempted, may perhaps convey juster views of Philip than those which have commonly been afforded by historians; and perhaps also (if we may have the presumption to boast of having, in this one respect, surpassed our master), than those which are to be derived from Mr Mitford. On surveying the character of this memorable conqueror, nothing strikes us so strongly as the *completeness* both of his intellectual, and, if the expression may be allowed, of his animal composition. All those endowments which enable men to command others, or to persuade them,—to plan felicitously, or to execute effectually,—appear to have met in his composition, with

unexampled entireness, and in the happiest proportions. 'Has he a fine countenance?' said Demosthenes, on his return from his first embassy to Macedon; 'that of Aristodemus, one of our own legation, seems to me in no respect inferior. Are his convivial talents eminent? Those of Philocrates, another fellow-ambassador, are still more striking.' It has been well observed, that Demosthenes was here obliged to combine together the Athenian ambassadors, before he could find a counterpoise for the various qualifications of Philip; and, in fact, he might have added to his catalogue all the contemporary worthies of Attica, and even included himself in the number, without materially disturbing the balance. It has been falsely supposed, that the genius of Philip was deficient in ardour, and preferred an indirect and wily policy, where even worldly wisdom would have advised the straight path. This vulgar error may have grown, partly out of that reputation for insincerity which has been too successfully fastened on this prince, partly from his standing in contrast with his son Alexander, whose whole character is one intense glow, and throws an appearance of faintness and insipidity over every thing in its neighbourhood. But the attentive readers even of Demosthenes will not imagine that a lack of vigour was among the foibles of the Man of Macedon, however his mind inclined, as a mind soundly constituted always will incline, to the methods of persuasion. His energy, indeed, was under the same exact discipline with the rest of his great qualities; all of which seem never to have anticipated the call of the occasion, and never to have disobeyed it.

But by what dispositions, on what principles, and to what ends, were these rare gifts directed? What is his title to that credit for generosity, moderation, and sincerity, which has hitherto been refused to him by the steady concurrence of historians?

The generosity of Philip has at least this one suspicious feature, that it was apparently exercised with a nice selection of objects and occasions. The fortune of war having given him Amphipolis, he restored it uninjured to its independence. Having taken Olynthus, Methrone, and Apollonia, cities which, it is not pretended, had committed against him any aggravated offence, he razed them to the foundation, leaving no trace, except in history, even of their existence. His discrimination of delinquency, or rather of punishment, after the battle of Cheronea, was still more observeable. Athens had, on that occasion, transgressed equally with Thebes; unless it be supposed, that a friend, seduced into his first offence, better deserves our resentment than the malignant, perfidious, and irreclaimable enemy that has seduced him. Yet Athens not only obtained free forgiveness, but

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was complimented with the town and territory of Oropus; while Thebes not only lost Oropus, but was condemned to support and to obey a Macedonian garrison in her citadel. It is said, however, that the average severity of Philip was, after all, far below the ordinary standard of cruelty in republican Greece,—a circumstance important, indeed, but which would have spoken more strongly in his favour, had his deviations from the usual practice been less obviously measured and systematic. Yet it does not follow that his clemency was assumed, because it was in a great degree obedient to the suggestions of his interests.

The human mind certainly possesses a power of playing, in some sort, with its own passions, and of breaking them in to the service of its policy. *There is method in madness* far oftener than is commonly imagined; and there is much of method, too, in those mental affections which have been called *short madnesses.* The lunatic frequently discovers an imperfect, yet a cunning consciousness of his malady; and the ability of so far disguising or managing it, as to promote some vagary which the caprice of the moment may have suggested to his fancy. Among the sane part of mankind, it is not unusual to observe the same irregular kind of self-government established; and particularly, we think, in that species of character which results from a combination of strong feeling and firm resolution, with great experience. The passions are not tamed; but the master keeps them in cages till he finds a theatre on which they may be exhibited with effect. With no controul over the paroxysm while it rages, he has, like the Delphic priestess, the power of determining when it shall begin. The principle applies, it may fairly be suspected, to the benevolent affections. To us it appears even conceivable, that a destroyer, breaking the continuity of his barbarities by an insulated act of politic mercy, may, for the moment, and in a faint degree, enjoy that gratifying reaction of happiness, of which the fulness is reserved for the philanthropist in the hour of conscious success.

These remarks, which assert the compatibility, to a certain extent, of policy with passion, cannot be understood as detracting from the reputation of Philip for generosity, even of a somewhat high order. After every fair deduction on the score of self-interest, to have preserved, through the whole of a busy life, a sustained tone of humanity, unauthorized by the fashion of his age, seems conclusive in his favour. We may add, as Mr Mitford justly remarks, that the current anecdotes of this prince, whether they be authentic or otherwise, are almost invariably creditable to his goodness of temper, and liberality of mind. The Athenians, who were made prisoners at the battle of Cheronea,

instantly received their liberty without ransom. Presuming on this unexampled indulgence, it is said that the liberated captives, with all that unthinking pertness so amusingly characteristic of their nation, proceeded to demand further favours, by requesting that Philip would furnish them with clothes for their journey homewards. 'These people seem to think,' said Philip, 'that we have been fighting them only for joke;' but he granted their request. In this little anecdote, we know not whether most to admire the sauciness and gay assurance of the petitioners, or the unaffected good-nature of the monarch.

The *ambition* of Philip has already been considered. The peace which followed the Phocian war, by securing to him an unbroken dominion, and also the passes into Greece, surely left him strong with all the safeguards which the most fearful could desire, or the bravest erect. Had he, from that period, contentedly avoided all invidious intrusion into Proper Greece, and set at nought the barkings of the Athenian democrats, he would have acted a part truly magnanimous. To pretend that his security required a more decided ascendancy, is not only to cant miserably, but it is virtually to legitimate that most horrible of all maxims,—at once the law and the divinity,—the creed and the ten commandments,—the golden rule and the iron rod of all the oppressors that have ever *incarnadined* the earth with their atrocities,—the maxim, that no man can be safe for a moment, so long as there walks, on the surface of the globe, any other man stouter, or taller, or richer than himself.

To stop here, however, in our account of Philip's ambition, would be gross injustice. Ambition, in general, resembles that class of animals which are said by naturalists to continue growing as long as they live. That of Philip, it should be spoken to his praise, was not quite of the vulgar kind. On the side of Greece, at least, it clearly seems to have attained its full size on the battle of Cheronea; nor is it probable that any length of days would, in that quarter, have hardened it into rapacity. The fact was, his love of power was tolerably qualified by that love of popularity, which, in more tyrannical minds, is very frequently found just strong enough to plague and punish them for their crimes. This anxiety for greatness, however, was within its own limits absolute;—it was resolute, though temperate,—an immoderate desire of a moderate elevation.

Against his *insincerity*, it is perfectly unnecessary, even if it were just, to inveigh; because, in this particular, he has certainly suffered hard measure. That he always kept *the fore-right road of honour*, we dare not pledge ourselves; but there cannot be a doubt that he was quite as scrupulous a moralist as the better

ter sort of politicians in his own day, and that he was decidedly more rigid than his great Athenian opponent and calumniator. Indeed, in the charges of dissimulation that have been preferred against him, a candid observer will rather discover a testimony to the accomplishments and popular graces that adorned him. No man thinks it necessary to call a cutthroat a cheat, or to discover that a notorious robber is given to tell smooth lies. To make such personages hated, you have only to assure the world that they are exactly what they appear. It is the amiable, the imposing, the dazzling character, which is particularly exposed to the imputation of duplicity. The enemies of him that possesses such a character, delight in fastening on him the only vice which, instead of finding a set-off in his exterior virtues, becomes aggravated in proportion to their plausibility; and mankind, who enjoy nothing more than to be told a secret, delight in believing them.

The private faults attributed to Philip may be placed, perhaps, on the same footing with those of a public nature already mentioned. Of all, or most of them, he seems to have had so little, as to make the unqualified ascription of them highly unjust, and so much as to afford it but too much colour. On the whole, he was no monster, except in talents; nor can it be questioned that fame has punished him greatly beyond his desert. This, indeed, is the only instance in which he can be said to have signally failed of his purposes; for it is evident, that it was his earnest wish to conciliate to himself all the literature, and to embody his own reputation in the classical renown, of Athens. But this failure could hardly be considered as within ordinary calculation; because it was not obvious to expect such an antagonist as Demosthenes,—an antagonist, of whose eloquence no higher proof can be given than this, that not only was it a perpetual clog on Philip's living greatness, but that, prevailing even over the justice of time and of posterity, it has, through all succeeding ages, excited a war of obloquy against his memory.

A few miscellaneous remarks and objections, not in any sensible degree affecting the material questions at issue between us and our author, we here subjoin by way of appendix.

P. 283. We can by no means concur in the author's narrative of the actions of Charidemus. For it is clear, 1*st*, that he was sent over, not by the Athenians, but by Artabarus: 2*d*, that the words quoted by Mr Mitford, as proving that there were gallies appointed by the Athenians, certainly do not prove that point,—as a reexamination of the clause, with its context, will abundantly convince our learned author: 3*d*, that the decree so alarming to Miltocythes, was not the decree Mr Mitford means. The

former passed, it should seem, before Autocles went out to Thrace, and its effects, were visited on that commander. Possibly (but this is mere conjecture) it was a decree in some way complimentary to Iphicrates.

P. 294—355. It does not, we think, appear that Chabrias's treaty with Cersobleptes ever held good. Demosthenes's words (*in loco*) seem rather to convey, that the people never ratified it at all.

P. 398. There is here a trifling deviation from Diodorus, who tells us, that the Lacedæmonians were joined by a large force of their allies *before* they took Orneæ.

Is it not probable from Diodorus, that Phalæcus took advantage of the absence of the Thebans in Peloponnesus to attack Cheronea? The original will bear that construction.

P. 400. Rollin has fallen into the same mistake as Auger; and refers, for his authority, to that very passage in Diodorus alluded to by Mr Mitford.

P. 422. The quotation from Demosthenes is somewhat unfair. Demosthenes only implies covertly and incidentally what Mr Mitford states him to have openly pronounced. 'It is the basest of all things (says the orator) to let slip from our hands, *not only the cities and places of which we were formerly masters*, but also the allies and opportunities furnished by fortune.'

P. 425. The naval force despatched under Chares to the assistance of the Olynthians, is said, by Demosthenes, to have amounted to fifty triremes.—*De legat.*

P. 432. (Note 11.) There seems a slight incorrectness with respect to the persons to whom the quotation is applied. τούτους refers not to the Macedonians, but to the Macedonian party in Olynthus,—to those who had received bribes.

P. 464. There is a slight oversight in saying, that Demosthenes took the lead in speaking before the assembly of the people. He expressly declares, that Æschines was the first of the embassy who spoke, and that he himself immediately followed.—*De legat.*

P. 496. The story of Ptæodorus seems incorrectly given. Demosthenes says, not that Ptæodorus went himself, but that he sent Perilaus back to Philip; that after this, Perilaus came at the head of the mercenaries to Megara, while Ptæodorus was employed in taking measures *within* the city.—*Dem. de legat.*

P. 561. There is an inaccuracy, scarcely worth notice, in the computation of the English money from the Greek, which is corrected by a reference to Mr Mitford's own table of monies. 1000 drachmæ equalled in Sterling 32*l.* 5s. 10d. Demosthenes was to receive annually twice that sum.

P.

P. 562. Demosthenes says, that Æschines began his accusation against the Amphissians immediately after he had taken his seat in the Amphictyonic council; and speaks of the proceedings as having followed without any delay. Why then does Mr Mitford say, 'The crisis *at length* arose?' &c.

P. 580. It does not appear from Æschines, that the Thebans were offended at Nicæas being given away *to the Thessalians*, but at its being given away at all.

Upon the whole, though we think it rather unfortunate that the story of the Grecian republics should have been told by one who has so many anti-republican partialities, we think it our duty to testify, that it has been more justly told by Mr Mitford than by any preceding author; and that those who differ from him in his political conclusions, must still acknowledge their obligations to the clearness and fulness of his narrative.

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